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ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

By

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CHAPEL HILL

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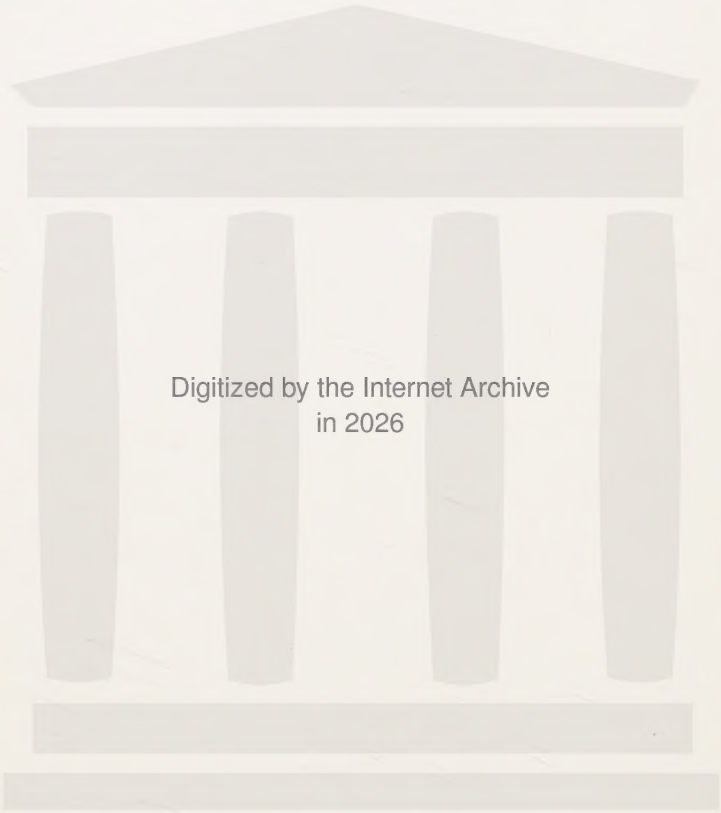
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To

My Wife

FOREWORD

My chief concern in writing this volume has been to portray a way of life which attained crystallization in ante-bellum South Carolina. The roots of this way of life spread far into the past; its finest fruits were displayed in the decades immediately preceding the War for Southern Independence.

Life in ante-bellum South Carolina was not static, but it was resistant of change which tended to cause it to conform to the ideology and practices of the industrial North. The generality of the people of South Carolina and, indeed, of the entire South, shared the view that the plantation civilization of the South was superior to the industrial civilization of the North in that the former conserved and perpetuated a way of life which ennobled the individual and lent stability to society. In the light of this conviction, the behavior pattern of the Southern community is readily understandable.

The ideology of the Old South is not susceptible of succinct definition; nevertheless, it permeated human relationships and social values. One can, with the exercise of diligence, understand and describe the outward forms of life in the Old South; but so elusive are some of the elements which conditioned social usage as to leave the student, after prolonged search, somewhat perplexed.

Notwithstanding the elusiveness of the subject treated, I have endeavored, through the liberal use of diaries, letters and journals of South Carolinians in manuscript, and through a limited use of secondary works, to reconstruct the picture of society as it appeared in ante-bellum South Carolina. That some of the richness and color as well as some of the drab aspects of the scene have eluded my pen, there can be scarcely any doubt. While certain areas may appear dim, the main outlines of the picture will, I trust, appear sufficiently clear to warrant the effort.

Research for this study was made possible, in large part, by a grant-in-aid from the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council. I am especially indebted to Mr. Harry Legare Watson, of Greenwood, for the generous use of his valu-

able private library; and to my wife, who throughout the undertaking has been a constant inspiration. Mrs. Harriette Leiding, of Charleston, Mr. Raven I. McDavid, of Greenville, Dr. J. Rion McKissick, of Columbia, Mr. Alex Lucas, of McClellansville, Mr. A. G. Taylor, of Taylors, Mrs. J. M. Green, of Charleston and Mrs. Walter White, of Stateburg, have in various ways greatly facilitated the prosecution of the task. To them, as well as to others who have made their private collections available to me, my thanks are due. I wish to acknowledge also the courteous assistance rendered by the staffs of the libraries of the University of South Carolina, Furman University, the Charleston Library Society, the South Carolina Historical Society and also of the Greenville Public Library and the Library of Congress.

Lastly, my thanks are due Dr. D. D. Wallace, of Wofford College, who carefully read and criticized the entire manuscript. For any errors that remain, the author assumes full responsibility.

Greenville, S. C. ROSSER H. TAYLOR.
May 28, 1941.

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ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL AND SECTIONAL ORIGINS

South Carolina was settled largely by a cross-section of the plain people of England and of Barbados to which subsequently were added sizable groups, lean of purse but strong in hope and ambition, of Scotch, Swiss, French, Irish and Germans. The Scotch-Irish, the predominant group in the Back-Country,[1] were culturally neither Scotch nor Irish, but essentially English, transplanters of English law, institutions and liberties. These immigrants expected to improve their fortunes in Carolina, but just how this was to be done could not be determined exactly in advance of settlement. The Lords Proprietors obviously expected the first immigrants dispatched to engage in the Indian trade and to practice agriculture.[2] The Indian trade offered the readiest returns and to it the early settlers at Charleston turned with increasing success.[3] McCrady informs us that the early settlers throve not as planters but as traders, exporting skins, furs and clapboards.[4] In order to encourage agriculture not only for subsistence, but eventually for a money profit, the Proprietors adopted a liberal land policy and provided the colonists with a variety of tropical plants which perished in the frosts of the first winter. Experimentation in agriculture was costly and the colonists were impatient of delay in providing themselves with merchantable goods. After nearly twenty years of experimentation and disappointment, a salable staple was discovered in rice. By 1696 rice was grown in such quantities that "it was named by the Assembly as a commodity in which quit rents might be paid." The demand for Carolina rice (a superior variety) in Europe and the West Indies was so brisk as to warrant its cultivation on an increasing scale until rice became the leading article of export.[5]

[1] Back-Country was a term used in the Colonial Period. In the period of statehood the term Up-Country was substituted for Back-Country.

[2] Wallace, D. D., *History of South Carolina,* I, 67-68.

[3] The early colonists not only traded with the Indians, they captured and sold Indians into slavery. See McCrady, Edward, *South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government,* p. 189.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Wallace, *op. cit.,* II, 121.

The successful cultivation of rice had many significant repercussions. It distinctly marked the transition from an economy of scarcity to an economy of abundance and insured the rise of an aristocracy of wealth. The Indian trade, for obvious reasons, could not support a superior social class. The whole enterprise entailed too much movement of persons and things; besides, there was little English precedent for a trading aristocracy. The advent of a steady supply of slave labor, coupled with profits from the production of rice, led to consolidation of fertile lands in the hands of the most competent managers. A class of *entrepreneurs* appeared—a class with actual and potential wealth, controlling and exploiting the labor of large groups of slaves. The successful planters were bound, in the light of their English background and in view of their American environment, to develop a feeling of seigniorage, of social eminence, based upon possessions and a slowly refining culture.

The leading factors in the development of the social order of the Low-Country, according to Alfred Huger, were: (a) the natural strength and prowess of the social stocks from which the Carolinians sprang; (b) isolation of the Low-Country from the Northern provinces and from England; and (c) the interrelated influences of climate, soil and slavery.[6] This summary does not take into account the specific importance of a profitable staple, the Barbadian background of planting and slavery and the role of Charleston in focalizing the social and political activity of the planting gentry.

The majority of the settlers of Carolina had had no previous acquaintance with slave labor; but they readily embraced an agrarian economy stemming from slave labor, which promised both pecuniary and social rewards. The Huguenots, for example, after wasting much time and effort in an attempt to produce silk, turned to stock raising and to the cultivation of Indian corn, indigo and rice with slave labor.[7] In brief, they abandoned their Old World legacy for the *mores* and pursuits of the leading English families in Carolina. They intermarried with the English, gradually dropped the use of the mother tongue, joined the Anglican Church and, in general, became identified with the plant-

[6] Huger, Alfred, "The Story of the Low-Country," in *The Carolina Low-Country*, p. 113.

[7] Hirsch, A. H., *The Huguenots of South Carolina*, p. 24.

ing gentry.[8] There were many factors which impelled to this course, but perhaps none more potent than the desire to conform to those standards which held out the greatest promise of social recognition and material well-being. Later, when cotton culture invaded the Up-Country, we note a similar tendency on the part of the Scotch-Irish and Germans to conform to the accepted social standards of the Low-Country, outside the province of religion.

The social and economic régime in Carolina had no exact counterpart in England. It is true that the fashions and furniture were English, the laws were English or modifications thereof, the established church was English and withal business relations overseas were almost exclusively with the English. In England, however, there was neither a frontier nor a system of slavery, industries were more advanced and diversified and the middle class was much more numerous and consequential. In consequence, the way of life in the early South Carolina Low-Country[9] reflected more nearly that found in the British West Indies, especially Barbados.[10]

Professor W. E. Dodd asserts that before Negro slavery became important, social lines were noticeable in South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia.[11] It is undoubtedly true, however, that the spread of Negro slavery in the colonies greatly accentuated social stratification. The whites in the Low-Country tended to drift more and more into two classes—the gentry and the poor whites.[12] In Charleston there were artisans and merchants occupying an intermediate social position, with the merchants decidedly better situated. Indeed, it was not uncommon in the Colonial Period to find a combination of merchant and planter. Shortly before the Revolution, Wallace tells us, contempt for trade (evidence of the growing importance of the planter class) became increasingly noticeable with the result that merchandising came to be generally engrossed by Northerners and foreigners.[13]

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[9] The territory between the thirty-first and the thirty-sixth parallel, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was called Carolina until about 1690 when the northern settlements began to be called North Carolina.

[10] Many of the early settlers came directly from Barbados to Carolina. See Channing, E., *History of the United States,* II, 21.

[11] Dodd, W. E., "The Emergence of the First Social Order in the United States," *American Historical Review,* Jan., 1935, p. 226.

[12] Schaper, W. A., *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* p. 274.

[13] Wallace, *op. cit.,* II, 364.

The Lords Proprietors set out to establish by means of the Fundamental Constitutions an aristocratic government in the colony. Their idea was to revive in Carolina the medieval concept of feudality. Provision was made for an hereditary nobility, with baronies of 12,000 acres.[14] The Fundamental Constitutions or Locke's Grand Model proved to be impractical and shared the fate of similar efforts to establish the feudal system in the New World. The effort to graft the Fundamental Constitutions on a frontier society very likely supplied an impetus to the aristocratic concept of government which was further strengthened by a limited suffrage and the dominance of the Anglican Church.

The planting aristocracy of South Carolina, due to the geographic limitations of rice culture, was confined throughout the Colonial Period largely to the Low-Country. The rapid spread of settlement into the Back-Country between 1729 (when Carolina became a royal province) and 1750 by dissenters in religion, served to protect the Low-Country against Indian raids; but at the same time gave rise to political and social differences between the rude society of the backwoods and the more cultivated communities on the coast. These differences, sharpened by reason of race, religious affiliation, political and judicial discrimination and the isolation of the Back-Country, persisted to vex the good relations of the two sections far into the nineteenth century.

The Germans who settled on the Congaree and the Saluda rivers, the Swiss (a handful) in the lower Savannah River Valley, the Welsh on the Pee Dee and the Scotch-Irish at Williamsburg and in the upper Piedmont were dissenters in religion and, by reason of their isolation, retained for many years their peculiar national characteristics. The Germans were notably clannish and tenacious of their national traits.[15] While the Proprietors and the Crown permitted religious toleration, the dissenters were excluded from the Assembly in 1704;[16] and, by way of showing their religious preference, the Proprietors approved acts of the Assembly (1703-1706) establishing the Anglican Church.[17] The Established Church, with an educated ministry, who

[14] McCrady, *South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 96-97; Salley, A. S., "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1934), pp. 25-31.

[15] Scott, E. J., *Random Recollections of a Long Life*, p. 94.

[16] Wallace, *op. cit.*, I, 172. Act repealed in 1706.

[17] *Ibid.*, I, 175.

enjoyed for a time the exclusive privilege of performing the marriage ceremony,[18] and with the monarchical principle in church government, appeared to the Presbyterians and Baptists of the Back-Country to occupy a favored position justified neither by the laws of God nor man.[19]

The people of the Back-Country sustained another grievance against the Low-Country by reason of the fact that the Back-Country was long denied an adequate system of courts, thus necessitating long and expensive trips to Charleston for those who had the means and the time to seek legal justice. "Officers occasionally refused to travel into the interior," thus leaving the frontiersmen to their own devices for protection against outlaws and marauders.[20] This situation became so desperate as to result in an uprising of the Regulators in 1768 and 1769.

Perhaps the most fertile source of antagonism between the Back-Country and the Low-Country arose in connection with the system of representation in the Assembly. On this score there was recrimination until 1808, when a fairer redistribution of seats took place. The system of parish and county representation, with the suffrage restricted to freeholders and professing Christians of the Protestant faith and with membership in the Assembly limited to owners of a freehold of 500 acres (1682), greatly favored the Low-Country parishes.[21] The Low-Country planters were unwilling to concede full and equitable representation to the raw society of the Back-Country. To do so, they held, was to invite trouble. The power of taxation was a weapon worth holding; consequently, the constitution of 1778 provided for distribution of seats in the House and Senate so as to maintain the control of the propertied classes in both houses. Despite the preponderance of white population in the Up-Country, this arrangement was continued by the constitution of 1790.[22]

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 417.

[19] In the Colonial Period the Back-Country embraced the present counties of Abbeville, Anderson, Edgefield, Greenville, Oconee, Pickens, Newberry, Laurens, Union, Spartanburg, Fairfield, Chester, Lancaster, York, Kershaw, Cherokee, Greenwood, Saluda and Richland. McCrady, *History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government*, p. 294. The "fall line" was, of course, the natural dividing line between the Low-Country and the Up-Country.

[20] Wallace, *op. cit.*, I, 278.

[21] Schaper, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353. The Back-Country was allowed only forty of the one hundred and eighty-four members of the Provincial Congress. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

The clamor for more equitable distribution of seats based on white population finally produced the constitutional amendment of 1808, whereby people and property were made the basis of representation in the Lower House and each election district was to send one senator to the Senate, except Charleston, which was allowed two. As a result, the Up-Country obtained a majority of sixteen in the House and a majority in the Senate of one.[23] The penetration of the Up-Country by the cotton belt, however, operated eventually to give the black belt a majority in both houses.[24] Eli Whitney unwittingly rendered the State a notable service in the invention of the cotton gin, making possible the expansion of the cotton belt into the uplands. Rice culture, largely within the tidewater, served to perpetuate sectionalism; but cotton culture, extending practically over the entire State, supplied the common bond of interest which did most to allay sectional strife and to promote mutual regard.

Having now glanced at the evolution of a planting aristocracy and at the evidences of sectionalism within the colony and State, let us view the social fruitage of the colonial background as it matured in the first half of the nineteenth century.

[23] Wallace, *op. cit.*, II, 374. The Up-Country in 1808 embraced the region outside the parishes.

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 375. Manhood suffrage was granted in 1810.

CHAPTER II

COUNTRY LIFE

The four pillars of the social order in South Carolina were ancestors, possessions, occupations and education. One might enjoy social distinction solely by virtue of descent from illustrious forebears; but the most comfortable social position was fortified with education, land and Negroes. In a region where the ownership of land and Negroes and the occupation of planting were the *ne plus ultra* for the enjoyment of the largest influence, social and political, planters and farmers sought to retain and to transmit their holdings intact and, if possible, to augment their establishments whenever judicious purchases could be made. So socially desirable was the station of planter that non-slaveholding whites in the cotton belt anticipated the time when they could boast of the ownership of slaves and cotton fields. The following lines, much quoted, were expressive of the general desire:

All I want in this creation
Is a pretty little wife
And a big plantation.

According to D. Huger Bacot, South Carolina by 1825 was a typical plantation State "with slave labor everywhere in use."[1] The staple crops on which the plantation rested were upland cotton, grown throughout the State except in the mountains and on the sea-islands, rice in the tidewater and sea-island cotton on the islands along the coast.[2] Corn, wheat, oats, peas and potatoes were grown largely for subsistence, and the same observation holds for the raising of cattle and hogs.

The leading rice and sea-island cotton producing Districts were Beaufort, Charleston, Colleton and Georgetown, and here

[1] Bacot, D. Huger, "The South Carolina Up-Country at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review,* July, 1923, p. 692. *Cf.* Mills, Robert, *Statistics,* p. 212 and *Niles' Weekly Register,* Sept. 17, 1836.

[2] In 1836 exports from Charleston included 280,000 bales of upland cotton, 270,000 bales of sea-island cotton and 130,000 barrels of rice. *Niles' Weekly Register,* Sept. 17, 1836.

concentration of slaves and large units of production were most in evidence.[3] The interior Districts of Edgefield, Abbeville, Darlington, Fairfield, Laurens and Newberry led in cotton production.[4] There was a gradual thinning out of both Negroes and large plantations as one approached the Up-Country from tidewater, but this thinning out was by no means progressive. Edgefield District, for example, contained considerably more slaves and large plantations than the adjacent District of Lexington. The contrast between the coastal District of Charleston with 54,775 slaves and 682 farms with the partially mountainous District of Greenville with 6,691 slaves and 1,068 farms in 1850 indicates strongly that the upper Piedmont was not dominated by the plantation régime.[5]

The social and political predominance of the class of large planters in South Carolina was due not to numbers but rather to aggressiveness and assurance, which the ownership of an estate conferred upon the lords of the manor. The feudal heritage, fortified by an economic and social order which reflected the manorial régime of Old England, clearly placed upon the propertied and educated classes the chief responsibility for direction in public affairs. Of a total white population of 274,563 in 1850 only 25,596 owned slaves and of this number only 1,471 owned fifty or more slaves.[6] The majority of the slaveholders owned less than twenty slaves; and yet so strongly were the planting gentry intrenched in public life that they ruled the State with the exception of the Reconstruction Period until 1890. Only abiding respect for the honesty and integrity of the gentry and the force of tradition could have sustained the old order well beyond the great cataclysm of war and reconstruction.

As Mrs. Leiding rightly observes, the plantation seats of the

[3] The average slaveholding in Beaufort District in 1861 was thirty; for the entire State fifteen. The average landholding on St. Helena Island in 1860 was 573 acres; for the entire State the average was 488 acres. Johnson, Guion Griffis, *A Social History of the Sea-Islands,* pp. 36 ff. For further statistics concerning distribution of slaves and plantations, consult Schaper, W. A., *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina,* pp. 391 ff.

[4] *Compendium of the Seventh Census,* p. 306.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 302. The total white population of South Carolina in 1850 was 274,563; total slave population 384,984; free persons of color, 8,960. Of the free persons of color, 4,372 were mulattoes.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 95.

gentry reflect a way of life.[7] They suggest expansive and leisurely living, hospitality and well-being.

The planters of the Low-Country erected their dwellings at a distance from the high road in a grove of live oaks so as to assure privacy. The approach, frequently flanked with ornamental trees or shrubs, led to spacious grounds which girdled the dwelling and its accessories. In the outer circle of the yard, one would encounter the meat house, dairy, wood house and perhaps a dove cote; while somewhat farther removed from the dwelling, but within call, stood the stables, cow lot and barn.

A few Negro houses for the accommodation of house and yard servants occupied an inconspicuous place in the rear grove, lending a subdued and somber touch to the fringe of settlement. Perhaps a mile from the planter's residence, barely etched on the horizon, stood the Negro quarter and the overseer's house, drab and squalid, but withal adequate for primary needs. There were many variations of this arrangement, but the general outline is fairly typical.

The problem of insuring coolness for dwellings in the semi-tropical climate was met by constructing them on high basements,[8] and by flanking and fronting them with broad piazzas over which the roofs sloped so as to shut out the slanting rays of the sun. The more pretentious country seats featured spacious verandas supported by large white Grecian columns, extending in some instances from the ground to a level above the second tier of windows, thus affording a doubledecked portico of impressive proportions.[9] The large and high-pitched rooms were inset with windows protected by shutters, while at least two chimneys supplied several fireplaces for heating the rooms in winter and for cooling them in summer. If perchance tenants found the rooms uncomfortably warm in summer, relief could be had in the central hall on the first floor. Through this wide passage, extending from front to rear, air currents pleasantly cool circulated with soothing effect upon the nerves of those not bound to labor in the fields.

The dwellings of the planters were usually two-storied structures of wood or brick (wood being most in evidence), with dormer

[7] Leiding, Harriette K., *Historic Houses of South Carolina*, p. viii (Foreword).

[8] The cool basements were used for storage and sometimes for cooking.

[9] The more compact and balanced Georgian homes represent less of a conscious effort to adapt design to climate.

windows and high gables. The bedrooms were on the second floor and the living quarters on the first floor. As the upper story was usually unprovided with a piazza, the windows were protected by shutters which were closed by day and opened at night. In the absence of screens, the shutters excluded flies and at the same time, when closed in the early morning, insured a greater degree of coolness against the night.

On the lower floor, flanking the central hall, the sitting room, parlor, winter dining room and library, or in lieu of a library a master bedroom supplied with ample closets, were usually found. The four main rooms on the first floor opened on the hall, and those on the same side of the hall were connected by doors which permitted one to pass in winter from sitting room to dining room without exposure to the unheated central hall. This arrangement, while common, does not hold for all commodious homes, where frequently the drawing room and ballroom were found on the second floor.

Sometimes the basement was used for a summer dining room. For example, the Ellerbe home[10] near Camden was provided with a basement which served as a dining room in summer and hot food was brought in from a kitchen placed some twenty yards from the basement. The lower floor of this residence contained the winter dining room, parlor and sitting room. The second floor contained the bedrooms. Much the same arrangement holds for Somerset and Northampton in St. Johns Berkeley. Somewhat typical of the general layout was Harmony Hall overlooking Black Creek in Darlington District. On entering, the first room to the right was a large sitting room where the family gathered around the fire on winter evenings. The other front room with a red carpet on the floor was the parlor. Just behind the parlor was the library and study. The corresponding room on the other side of the hall, called "Mother's Room," was connected by a doorway with the sitting room. To "Mother's Room" was attached a little shed room and dressing room. On the second floor there were a guest room and three other bedrooms for the accommodation of members of the family.[11]

By and large the country homes were constructed with a view

[10] Built by the McCrady family of Charleston. Purchased by the Ellerbe family in 1831.

[11] Dargan, E. C., *Harmony Hall; Recollections of an Old Southern Home,* pp. 9-10.

of securing coolness in summer. Equable heating in winter was not feasible. In winter when a lady left a warm room to cross a cold hall she invariably placed a shawl around her shoulders for protection against the sudden change in temperature. The more callous male paid less attention to the frost-line, roaming about the house and yard with stoic indifference to atmospheric conditions.

Many beautiful homes were erected in the Up-Country in the vicinity of Pendleton and Greenville by gentlemen of the Low-Country. Up-Country seats, as a rule, were not so pretentious nor so well adapted to the landscape as the seats of the Low-Country gentry. Crowning some eminence studded with oak and hickory trees, the Up-Country homes in summer presented a pleasing picture; but in winter, framed by gaunt branches, they appeared rather stark and bare against a drab landscape. There were, of course, many elegant homes in the Up-Country as, for example, Rosemont near Laurens; but the generality of the homes of planters and farmers of the Up-Country were built for convenience and not for beauty. As a planter's family increased, rooms would be added until what was at first a symmetrical dwelling became an architectural monstrosity.

Perhaps the most common style of Up-Country dwelling was a plain rectangular one- or two-storied wooden structure with chimneys at either end, a central hall and an ell or lean-to in the rear.[12] The ell contained the kitchen and frequently the dining room. There were, however, in the Up-Country many square four- or eight-room dwellings arranged after the manner of Low-Country homes.

For the homes of the poor whites no standard of taste will apply. They were drab weather-beaten frame or log structures with rock or stick chimneys. Here and there the aspect of drabness was relieved somewhat by cleanly swept yards adorned with colorful flowers. Olmsted observed that the homes of the poor around Marion were often without glass windows.[13] Inside, a few home-made chairs, "a long bench, a dirty bed or two, a spinning wheel—a skillet, oven, frying pan and a triangular cupboard"[14] made up the meager stock of furnishings. Dogs and cats prowled around the yard and kitchen and chickens of nondescript

[12] See Leiding, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[13] Olmsted, F. L., *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 384.
[14] Hundley, D. R., *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, p. 260.

strain scratched within earshot of the back door, ready to assemble on call for crumbs the wizened housewife swept from the floor.

Homes of the wealthy were usually well appointed throughout with walnut dining tables and sideboards, cut glass decanters and bowls, silver service, rosewood or mahogany cabinets and tables, silver or brass candlesticks, massive four poster beds, what-nots, pier tables, mirrors, carpets and pictures. The appraisal of the estate of J. Burwell Boykin of Camden District shows that the drawing room of his residence, known as Mount Pleasant, was furnished with two dozen chairs, two settees, one pianoforte, one tea table, two card tables, one set of tea china, carpet and hearth rugs, a pair of large mirrors, three pairs of plated candlesticks, two tea trays, andirons, shovel, tongs and fenders. The dining room contained three dozen rush bottom chairs, a mahogany sideboard, a walnut dining table, a small dining table, a mahogany work table, a timepiece, four pairs of brass candlesticks, crockery, glassware, carpet and hearth rug, silver plate valued at $249, knives, forks, andirons, shovels, tongs and fenders. The bedrooms were furnished in walnut and mahogany.[15]

In the most elegantly appointed homes magnificent chandeliers, Adam mantles, mahogany bookcases and family portraits in oil were displayed.

A list of the household furnishings of a lady of moderate means included a desk, a table, a cot, a trunk, one set of fire irons, seven chairs, one looking glass, a Bible, a pair of sheets, a bolster and two pillows, eight plates, two bowls, teapot and pitcher, three decanters, two irons and one umbrella.[16]

Homes of the plain people were furnished with the barest requirements in chairs, tables, beds, pots and pans. The property of Benjamin Wilkerson sold at a sheriff's sale before the courthouse door in Greenville in 1842 consisted of one cow and yearling, one sorrel horse, one clock, one chest, two common tables, one feather bed and seven chairs.[17]

A small farmer would generally economize in the matter of household furnishings and count his wealth in terms of livestock,

[15] Appraisal of the estate of J. Burwell Boykin of Camden, Feb. 2, 1818. MS. in Judge of Probate's Office, Apt. 9, pkg. 259, Camden, S. C.

[16] List of the household furniture of Hannah Thirtle, Apr. 23, 1822. MS. in Judge of Probate's Office, Apt. 67, pkg. 2,422, Camden, S. C.

[17] *Mountaineer*, May 20, 1842. Other items of small value were not listed.

land and Negroes. Some compensation for a dearth of home comforts was found in the investment in cows and hogs which were readily convertible into cash. The good housewife doubtless yearned for pretty counterpanes and carpets, but was overruled by the more frugal and materialistic husband who could not spare hard-earned money for such trifles. As an example of the unequal ratio of land, livestock and Negroes to household goods, witness the case of Zion Philips of Greenville District whose property was sold under execution in 1842. Philips owned 286 acres of land, one Negro girl, two horses, one yoke of oxen and a cart, five cows and calves, twenty-five hogs, seven or eight sheep, one still, two bedsteads, one feather bed, ten chairs, two tables, one cupboard, one patent clock and two wash pots.[18]

Rosewood cabinets, mahogany sideboards and "pleasure carriages" belonged to the "quality"; they signified gentility. The yeomanry prized as personal property to be handed down to posterity such objects as feather beds, saddles and bridles, rifles and spinning wheels. John Bowen, a middle-class farmer of the Up-Country, bestowed upon his children as they left him such real and personal property as was in his judgment best suited to give them a start in life. To his son William H. Bowen he gave 222 acres of land, a horse, saddle and bridle, a bed and furniture, a cow, calf and yearling, a sow and pigs, three sheep and a rifle; to his daughter Elizabeth Hunt he gave one Negro boy, one mare and saddle, one bed, bedstead and furniture, one big wheel and four sheep.[19]

The equipment of an Up-Country farm was generally adequate for essential operations. A tract of land embracing 180 acres in Pickens District in 1831 was provided with a "comfortable dwelling," necessary outbuildings, two good store houses, a cotton gin and screw. On a neighboring tract of twenty acres there were a sawmill, a merchant mill and a distillery.[20] Subsistence farming was more generally practiced in the Piedmont and the mountains than in the Low-Country;[21] hence the first

[18] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1842. Obviously, some household articles were not listed.

[19] MS. in possession of Miss Beulah Berry, Greenville, S. C. This distribution of property was made in 1828.

[20] *Mountaineer,* July 16, 1831.

[21] It should be borne in mind that improved transportation facilities for marketing Up-Country products gradually directed attention to large-scale production of cotton and other merchantable products.

concern of the small Up-Country and mountain farmer was to provide ample food for man and beast. Cloth was manufactured in household looms and shoes were fabricated by an itinerant shoemaker from native hides tanned at the local tan yard. The cider press and distillery supplied vinegar and brandy for family and neighborhood use while grist mills reduced Indian corn to meal and sawmills converted timber into lumber. Cotton was grown on an increasing scale; but its culture, with some exceptions, was not permitted to eclipse the homespun economy of self-sufficiency in essential needs.

The hauling of surplus cotton, brandy, corn and bacon to distant markets involved considerable expense and loss of time.[22] The trip by wagon from Chick Springs to Columbia consumed an entire week, requiring the services of a slave for each wagon and a white person to supervise the trading. "The wagons started on Saturday to Columbia," wrote Mrs. J. C. Winship. "If everything goes well with them, they will be back next Saturday."[23] Chickens, eggs, homespun and corn were sold to local merchants; but cotton was hauled to Hamburg, Columbia and Augusta.[24] Local merchants also supplied local people with miscellaneous articles which were needed in the intervals between trips to distant markets. The account book of Alfred Taylor, a country merchant of Greenville District, shows that Charles Duncan purchased calico, pepper, spice, tobacco, homespun, sugar, molasses, salts, gun flints and salt in small quantities in 1851. He was credited with thirteen chickens. In the same year Alfred McClelland purchased on credit shoes, a fine-tooth comb, veil, calico, ribbon, linen, earrings, sugar and coffee.[25]

The frugality and self-sufficiency which nature and a dearth of

[22] The penetration of the Up-Country by railroads in the 'fifties gradually shortened trips to shipping points.

[23] Mrs. J. C. Winship to her son, Tom. Camp Hill, S. C., Aug. 5 (year omitted). R. H. Smith Papers.

[24] For a description of Hamburg as an inland market, see Taylor, Rosser H., "Hamburg, An Experiment in Town Promotion," *North Carolina Historical Review,* Jan., 1934.

[25] Account Book of Alfred Taylor, merchant, for the year 1851. The Account Book of the firm of Loring, Winn & Co., of Sumter, S. C., for the year 1861 shows that local customers purchased quantities of snuff, plug tobacco, cotton hose, gingham, calico, needles, leather buckskins, powder and shot. Accounts were carried until fall when settlement was made in cash or with produce. This Account Book is in the possession of Major Loring Lee, Sumter, S. C.

transportation facilities imposed upon the Up-Country was somewhat less noticeable in the Low-Country. Much, of course, depended upon the character of the individual proprietor. There were improvident persons in both Up-Country and Low-Country; but, due in some measure to climate, soil and disease and to the further fact that the best lands had been preempted by the large planters, the small farmers in the Low-Country generally practiced a more easygoing, shortsighted economy. N. Thacher, a New England tutor, left us a picture of a small slaveowner in the Low-Country:

> Spent most of the day with Mr. Pollard.—He is a young unmarried man about 22 years old. He has perhaps 50 acres of land, 5 or 6 negroes and a dwelling house if it can be so called. He lives or subsists alone. He is decently clothed, but he has not the necessaries of life. He seldom has sugar, meat, or butter, tea or coffee—lives principally on fish he catches and potatoes—Instead of fixing his house, looking after his negroes, and making a good living, he spends half of his time hunting and fishing and the rest in making shrimp nets and fishing tackle.[26]

This case was no doubt an extreme one. A somewhat better picture of a yeoman farmer in the Low-Country was given by W. W. Malet. E. F. Graham of Horry District, according to Malet, owned a farm of 556 acres, of which only thirty acres were in cultivation. There were no Negroes on the place. Graham and his two sons kept a few sheep, bees and chickens, while the wife and daughters did the household work and made with their own hands every article of clothing. The men supplemented the meager income from the farm by gathering and selling raw turpentine from their pine forest.[27]

No general observation covers the style of living or the degree of affluence of the planting gentry. Some of the planters (a minority) lived in the style of English country gentlemen, with carriages and horses, hounds and horns and servants in livery.[28] They were generous in entertainment and gracious in manner. Others lived niggardly or wastefully with small pride as to person or premises. Governor Hammond, while making his round of

[26] Diary of W. Thacher, Sept. 13, 1817. (Hereafter cited as Thacher Diary).

[27] Malet, W. W., *An Errand to the South,* p. 52. The two sons were in the Confederate Army in 1861.

[28] Lyell, Sir Charles, *Travels in North America,* I, 144.

militia reviews in 1841, spent the night with a representative of the prodigal class. Hammond's description of the man and his home, while vivid, leaves much to the imagination.

> The family mansion of McP—is a miserable affair, small, rambling, unfinished, dilapidated. The yard and garden grown up in weeds and briars and only china trees in the yard. The accommodations are in the same style—yet they are rich, but stupid and too lazy to be sufficiently comfortable, wasting their wealth in senseless riot and equally senseless anticipation of revenues.[29]

The majority of the planters, like J. Porcher Gaillard of Sumter District, lived comfortably and expansively, giving personal attention to their slaves and plantation affairs. They entertained freely, went to church on Sunday, made business trips to Charleston, attended muster and political meetings and lent assistance to those in need.[30]

By and large Spartan simplicity did not characterize the way of life of most planters. In general, they practiced the economy of abundance. W. H. Russell, on a tour of the South, was entertained at a plantation above Georgetown on the Pee Dee River. The rooms, which reminded him of the "old-fashioned houses of the Scottish border were adorned with paintings from Italy, portraits of colonial governors and lovely women." There was an excellent library filled with French and English classics, books of travel and histories. The visitor's baggage was carried to the guest chamber by a servant in livery. After dinner claret and Madeira were served to aid digestion and to enliven conversation.[31]

Miss Fredrika Bremer, while visiting the Poinsetts at "Casa Bianca" on the Pee Dee, was made ill by partaking of too many dinners on neighboring plantations.[32] Mrs. Basil Hall, who found much to criticize in the society of Charleston, conceded that she was delightfully entertained in the homes of Low-Country planters.[33] While some allowance must be made for company dinners,

[29] Diary of James H. Hammond (hereafter cited as Hammond Diary), May 20, 1841.

[30] The routine life of this planter is aptly described by himself in his plantation journals in possession of Mrs. Walter White, Stateburg, S. C.

[31] Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South,* p. 132 ff.

[32] Bremer, Fredrika, *Homes of the New World,* I, 286.

[33] Hall, Mrs. Basil, *The Aristocratic Journey,* p. 219.

it is true that wives of planters took much pride in "setting" bountiful tables. Mrs. Chesnut, upon giving a dinner in Columbia in honor of her distinguished guest, Jefferson Davis, served wine sixty years old.[34] Again, when this accomplished lady entertained in honor of a beautiful bride, she declared that for once she was satisfied with her table.[35]

Contemporaries such as Dr. John Irving[36] were so much enamoured of plantation life as to present it in idyllic colors, unmindful of the sweating toil of the Negroes in the rice fields and of the hardships of the mistress, who day and night visited the sick in the cabins, supervised the issuance of rations and clothing, and endured the stupidity of the raw servants. Planters were frequently harassed by debt and the care of unruly slaves and incompetent overseers. Time has obscured the disagreeable features of the plantation régime and has brought into relief its softer colors. The glamorous side of plantation life, the side which lingers in memory, was aptly described by a correspondent of the *Charleston Courier* in 1851 in a series of articles on "Country Life." The following is an excerpt:

> In the morning the bell rings to prayers and to breakfast. After eating the waffles and jonney cakes, the ladies adjourn to the drawing room and pass their time like daughters and wives of country gentlemen, practicing on the guitar, playing chess, battledore and shuttlecock or copying music or writing verses in albums. Some will sew while one of the party will read aloud. They may then go walking or horseback riding or take a drive. The young men prefer to hunt deer, fish or shoot birds.[37]

The writer stated that on this fictitious plantation visiting carriages were seen going up and down the avenue. To those who remained for dinner a bountiful meal of five courses was served followed by "potations of choice wines."

Planters were put to great expense in dispensing hospitality and in maintaining two or more homes together with a complementary corps of servants. When William Lucas moved from The Wedge on the Santee River to his town house in Charleston in 1848 he took with him sixteen house and yard servants to man the establishment.[38] These servants were consumers and processors, not

[34] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie,* p. 329.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 320.
[36] Author of *A Day on the Cooper River.*
[37] *Courier,* March 28-Apr. 18, 1851.
[38] Plantation Book of William Lucas, Jan. 1, 1848. Lucas Papers.

producers. When Mrs. R. F. W. Allston was taken to her husband's rice plantation as a bride, she found the house cluttered up with too many servants, among them a cook, laundress, housemaid, seamstress, butler, a second dining room man, coachman, gardener, scullion and yard boy.[39] On the plantation of Thomas Ashton Coffin on St. Helena Island there were fifty-five workers, men and women, forty-four children and ten house Negroes.[40] John M. deSaussure, a large planter, kept twenty Negroes at his town house in Camden,[41] whose upkeep cut severely into his net profits. It was the tremendous overhead involved in keeping up the grand style which so frequently kept planters in debt to their factors. Even the most careful planter could not certainly say whether in any given year he was living within his means, until accounts were settled in the fall. There were too many variable factors to upset calculations. Many planters failed to count the cost of factorage or of feeding and clothing a corps of largely unproductive servants. Planter-politicians who had difficulty in making ends meet complained loudly of the injustice of the tariff, of the migration of whites and blacks to the Southwest, and of worn-out lands and low prices as primary causes of pecuniary distress. While these factors doubtless conditioned economic welfare, the expense involved in maintaining elaborate establishments was in many instances a more direct cause of unbalanced plantation budgets.

Planters were reluctant to dispense with the appurtenances of gentility. When James H. Hammond moved his family to Columbia, he entertained misgivings as to whether his income would be adequate for the education of his children. He consoled himself, however, with the thought that he would not spend more than five or six thousand dollars a year in Columbia, and he had good reason to believe that his income "could scarcely ever fall under that."[42] The added expense of the town house caused Hammond to think strongly of moving to Texas and, if we may accept his word for it, only the semi-barbarous character of Texas and the dread of change restrained him from leaving South Carolina.[43]

[39] Pringle, Elizabeth W. Allston, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 63.

[40] Plantation Records of Thomas Ashton Coffin. MSS. in possession of the South Carolina Historical Society.

[41] John M. deSaussure Papers, University of South Carolina Library.

[42] Hammond Diary, March 31, 1841. At this time Hammond was apparently not deriving any income from the practice of law.

[43] *Ibid.*

Another item of expense incident to the social station of planters was that connected with the annual hegira of planters and their families to summer resorts. "The people of South Carolina," wrote a correspondent of the *State Gazette,* "visit the North for health, education, and pleasure, but never for gain. This would be vulgar and South Carolinians are above vulgar things."[44] The editor of the *Southern Chronicle* opined that the waters of Saratoga "will be consumed this season in most profitable abundance, and a pretty portion of the cotton profits of the South will be made payable at the North in the course of the summer."[45]

It would, of course, be rash to surmise that all planters lived up to or beyond their means. The wills of planters on file in the Charleston County Courthouse and elsewhere in the State reveal that many of them invested heavily in railroad and bank stocks for the benefit of their children. Only an imprudent planter would knowingly live above his income for a long period of time. The main trouble lay in the fact that many of them discounted too heavily the prospect of future profits. What mattered a little free spending when a bountiful crop and high prices would in perhaps one season lift one out of the bondage of debt? If the crop failed of expectation, notes were renewed and deficits were carried over by factors against better returns the next year.

The relation of masters and servants on farms and plantations varied with the disposition of the proprietor and the size of the establishment; usually the relationship of a small slaveholder and his slaves was more intimate and personal than the relationship of a large slaveholder and his slaves. Russell, after limited observation, stated in his *Diary* that the proprietor of a rice plantation near Georgetown knew nothing about his field hands, that only the servants engaged in household duties were on familiar terms with the master.[46] It was scarcely to be expected that the owner of three hundred Negroes, who was habitually absent from his plantation from May until November, would be able to identify every one of his "people" on sight.[47] The small slaveowner, who

[44] *South Carolina State Gazette,* Oct. 6, 1827.

[45] *Southern Chronicle,* July 9, 1825.

[46] Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 133.

[47] The heavy concentration of slaves in the tidewater coupled with a relative absence of personal contact with cultured whites were largely responsible for the dialect of the rice field Negroes known as Gullah. For an explanation of the origin of Gullah, consult Stoney and Shelby, *Black Genesis,* pp. xii-xiii.

worked in the field with his hands and administered punishment in person, could not as well essay the role of benevolent patriarch as the planter who shifted much of the responsibility for discipline and management to an overseer. On the contrary, the master and mistress of a large estate, who exercised appellate authority, whose errands of mercy were performed with condescending courtesy, and whose style of living evoked admiration, would be naturally regarded by their servants as superior beings. A master who was accustomed to being approached by his servants hat in hand for any request would feel patriarchal and carry himself with an air of self-confidence whether at home or abroad.

In most instances the personal affection of servants was reciprocated by the master and mistress. As a rule, the Negro "mauma" or "mammy" stood highest in the esteem of the white family to which she was attached. She frequently slept in the room with the white children and exercised over the young a benevolent but rigid discipline. Next to the "mauma" ranked the butler and coachman. House servants were often mulattoes chosen on the score of intelligence and appearance; the field hands, on the contrary, were for the most part undiluted Africans. Olmsted noted that house servants on rice plantations were more intelligent and better dressed "than I have seen before." They were, he observed, often mulattoes, housed in neatly furnished brick cabins and treated with much consideration.[48]

Evidence of special regard for servants was manifested in various ways. Faithful and efficient servants were allowed on occasion to work for wages and to keep a portion of the wages. They were also the recipients of special gifts at Christmas, provided with wedding suppers at marriage, given extra rations and, upon the death of the master or mistress, sometimes remembered in wills. Mrs. Maria C. Prentiss of Philadelphia, according to custom, sent Christmas presents to members of her family in South Carolina and included "a bundle of scarfs for slave women and seven additional boxes with scent bags."[49]

Solicitude for the well-being of deserving slaves was carried into the field of personal morality. "Mary must not marry a free man," wrote Mrs. Prentiss. "I wish you would beg brother

[48] Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

[49] Mrs. Maria C. Prentiss to Mrs. C. C. Jenkins, Dec. 21, 1857. Jenkins MSS.

to hire her. I am afraid she will go to ruin in Charleston."[50] As an instance of the remembrance of worthy servants in wills, the will of Henry English of Christ Church Parish is pertinent. English willed to Mary Brown, a colored woman, one hundred dollars and a cow and calf; to Betsy Brown, one hundred dollars and a cow and calf; to Handy Brown ten dollars. To all three "I leave twenty acres of land, bounding on the creek, with the building thereon for life."[51]

As is pointed out in Chapter XI, "Safeguarding the Social Organism," relations of slaves and masters were not always pleasant. When a slave became surly and unmanageable, punishment or, as a last resort, sale was sure to follow. David G. Harris of Spartanburg District recorded in his diary: "This morning I had a difficulty with Matt. I tied him up and gave him a gentle admonition in the shape of a good whipping. I intended to put him in jail and keep him there until I sold him, but he seemed so penitent and promised so fairly and the other Negroes promising to see that he behaved himself in the future that I concluded that I would try him again."[52] J. Porcher Gaillard's Negro, Jacob, was so intractable and vicious that his master shipped him to New Orleans for sale. Regarding this Negro, Gaillard wrote: "Said scoundrel during time he was out threatened to burn my dwelling; consequently I had to keep up a vigilant watch every night. I ought to have sold him six years ago."[53]

When a disobedient Negro was sold it mattered little to the owner into whose hands he passed; but when slaves had to be sacrificed for financial reasons, the generality of masters were loath to divide families. A division of families at a sale was uncommon, but on occasion financial considerations overruled humane sentiments.[54] The close ties existing between the servant and his master's family frequently had their inception in childhood. Black children played with white children, influencing their speech and manners until puberty and adolescence made the whites conscious of social superiority. This change of status did not,

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Will Book K (1845-1851), p. 35. Judge of Probate's Office, Charleston, S. C.

[52] Farm Journal of David Golightly Harris, Jan. 6, 1858. (Hereafter cited as Harris Journal.)

[53] Farm Journal of J. Porcher Gaillard, May 9, 1855.

[54] Family groups would not, as a rule, command so high a price as individuals sold singly.

however, always serve to impair seriously attachments formed in childhood.

A good deal has been written about the illicit relations of whites and Negro wenches. As most Negro wenches were venal, Arthur W. Calhoun asserted that such Southern men as refrained from such associations must have displayed great fortitude.[55] Harper, in his *Memoir on Slavery,* admits that illicit intercourse between whites and enslaved females existed; but, by way of mitigating the practice, he declared that such intercourse "is less depraving in its effect than when it is carried on with females of their own caste."[56] Simms in similar vein pointed out that while prostitution did not noticeably change the status of a slave, its practice by slavewomen and white men tended to safeguard the virtue of white women.[57] Olmsted heard that poor whites constantly associated in a licentious way with Negroes.[58] Whether or not Olmsted derived his information from reliable sources, the living evidence of miscegenation stared every observer in the face. It was one of the inevitable evils of slaveholding. It is true as Hammond states that "the white man who takes a colored mistress loses caste at once;"[59] but, despite the social stigma, a few white bachelors more or less openly kept black mistresses. The promiscuous intercourse of young men was likely to be condoned as the "sowing of wild oats" and forgotten in after years, when respectability earned by marriage and family devotion paled the memory of youthful indiscretions.

[55] Calhoun, Arthur W., *A Social History of the American Family,* II, 288.

[56] Harper, William, *Memoir on Slavery,* p. 29.

[57] Simms, W. G., "The Morals of Slavery" in *The Pro-Slavery Argument,* pp. 230-231.

[58] Quoted in Calhoun, *op. cit.,* II, 301. The writer has encountered several instances of miscegenation which furnished gossips with scandal.

[59] Hammond, James H., "Slavery in the Light of Political Science" in *Cotton is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments,* p. 645.

CHAPTER III

SOME TOWNS AND A CITY

The scattered towns of South Carolina were somnolent, easy-going market and government towns until court week, sales day and election day brought the country-folks to town in large numbers to accelerate the tempo of occupational and social activity. During such gatherings artisans and tradesmen bestirred themselves to compensate for weeks of dull business and lean profits. The adjournment of court marked a relapse into another period of drowsy inactivity subject, of course, to some seasonal pickup in the fall and winter.

Many towns sprang up around the courthouse, forming a square from which streets radiated to the residential districts and surrounding country where they deteriorated into roads and trails. In the absence of a courthouse, the main street focussed the principal trade of the town, while side streets and alleys housed artisans, mechanics and purveyors of odds and ends. Columbia was among the important towns in the State whose streets were laid out at right angles to the main thoroughfare in conformity to the surveyors' plat; and to this day Columbia, with its broad stately avenues, stands in marked contrast to other cities whose streets in many instances followed early wagon trails or "the path that the calf made."

Most of the towns ranged in population from five to fifteen hundred or two thousand persons. Columbia, the capital, was credited in 1850 with a population of 6,000 while Charleston, the only city in South Carolina, contained 42,984 people.[1] All told, perhaps, not more than 12% of the people were town and city dwellers. In the small towns urbanization was only partially achieved for the reason that numerous townsmen earned a livelihood by farming, but resided in or near town for the enjoyment of educational and religious advantages. With the exception of

[1] Compendium of the Seventh Census, pp. 338-339. In 1850 Beaufort was credited with a population of 897, Greenville 1,305, Spartanburg 1,176, Camden 1,333, Hamburg 1,070 and Yorkville 511.

Charleston, and to a lesser degree Columbia, the impact of urban influences on the rurality was negligible.

Small-townsfolk did not enjoy social eminence or possess the aggressive *esprit de corps* so characteristic of modern industrialized centers. In ante-bellum times a small town felt honored when a highly respectable planter elected to erect his dwelling within or near its corporate limits. Even the temporary residence of a group of planters near a town was hailed as a distinct social asset.[2] Not only did the planters lend tone and gayety to social functions, but incidentally they helped to put more money in circulation in the locality.

Townsfolk were not, however, without a certain amount of pride in their public buildings, schools and churches and their facilities for trade. For instance, we find the editor of the *Southern Chronicle and Camden Gazette* announcing in 1827 that "eight boats arrived yesterday from Charleston fully loaded with sugar, coffee, iron, salt, etc., to sundry merchants. Our country friends will be able to supply themselves with these necessary articles on as advantageous terms as can be procured in any inland town in the State."[3] The people of Edgefield were proud of their new jail "capable of accommodating forty or fifty boarders."[4] Columbia boasted of her gas lights installed in 1853,[5] while Greenville advertised her academies, male and female.[6]

Besides the stores and residences of townsmen, a town usually contained a courthouse, jail, churches, one or more academies and now and then a town hall. For example, Winnsborough in Fairfield District contained a courthouse, jail, academy, three churches, a masonic hall and a market house. There were besides about fifty private houses, two houses of entertainment and eight or ten stores.[7]

One visited the town to call for the mail, delivered by the stage, and to attend to legal business. Here property was sold under foreclosure on sales day, slaves hired out on the first of January and produce bought and sold the year round.

In towns, the merchants constituted the most numerous class—

[2] *Greenville Republican,* Nov. 24, 1827.
[3] *Southern Chronicle and Camden Gazette,* May 22, 1822.
[4] *Courier,* June 24, 1854.
[5] *Ibid.,* Feb. 22, 1853. [6] *Mountaineer,* Nov. 24, 1843.
[7] Mills, Robert, *Statistics.* Mills gives brief descriptions of the physical lay-outs of all the leading towns of South Carolina.

a substantial, penny-wise group who catered to the needs of the buying public in staples and luxuries. Merchants purchased advertising space in the local weekly newspaper, supported educational and religious organizations, attended lodge on the weekly or monthly lodge night and in general conducted themselves as good citizens. Due to the competitive character of the mercantile business, merchants outside Charleston achieved very little in the way of organization. Free and unlimited competition prevailed in the channels of trade. It is true, however, that merchants traveled in convivial groups when bound to and from Baltimore and New York to buy goods for their stores.[8]

Besides the merchants, there was always a contingent of lawyers, physicians and ministers whose services and social rank clothed them with a dignity which compelled a certain amount of deference from those who toiled in the shops and taverns. The blacksmiths, carriage makers, carpenters, tailors and tanners, found in varying proportions in the towns,[9] plied their trades from day to day, ministering to the material needs of the town and surrounding country. Small earnings enabled them to rear families and to maintain a degree of respectability. Between the artisans and the merchants there were common interests mutually beneficial. The person who took his horse to the blacksmith for a new set of shoes purchased the shoes from the local merchant; and, in like manner, the person who placed his order with the local tailor for a suit of clothes contributed to the upkeep of the merchant who sold the cloth.

At the town meetings citizens of high and low degree assembled to participate in the discussion of public questions and to render a primary verdict on propositions presented for their consideration. Meetings of townsmen were of fairly frequent occurrence in South Carolina. A public meeting was held in Edgefield in 1844 for the purpose of giving the citizens an opportunity to express their views on the "re-annexation of Texas,"[10] and a mass meeting of the citizens of Greenville was summoned by the

[8] Abbeville *Independent Press,* Sept. 25, 1857.

[9] For example, there were in Greenville in 1837 five lawyers, three physicians, one baker, four tavern-keepers, four blacksmiths, one cabinet-maker, two saddlers, two cobblers, two tinners, one coppersmith, two carriage-makers, three tailors, two painters and one tanner. *Mountaineer,* Mar. 18, 1837.

[10] Edgefield *Advertiser,* May 22, 1844.

Intendant in 1846 to consider the boundaries of Greenville.[11] Action taken by the townsmen with reference to the boundaries was not actually binding on the Intendant and Wardens, but the municipal officers could scarcely afford to ignore the popular verdict.

As has been noted, towns were generally unsanitary. Hogs roamed at large over unpaved streets, cows grazed on vacant lots and garbage accumulated in back yards.[12] A common cause of complaint at Camden was the prevalence of hogs running at large, rooting up streets and drains, against the ordinance provided.[13]

Frequent and destructive fires resulted in the organization of hook and axe companies for tearing down buildings adjacent to those in flames. The town furnished the hooks and axes which the company used in fighting fires and for display in the monthly parades. The larger towns owned fire engines which were manned by volunteer fire companies. Greenville purchased its first fire engine in 1842,[14] but Columbia owned at least two fire engines as early as 1827.[15] Here complaint was made that the fire companies failed to operate their engines well because too many people were giving orders. The Board of Fire Masters was supposed to be in charge at all fires, but rivalry among fire companies to be first on the scene oftentimes led to confusion and lack of well-directed effort. At Georgetown an ordinance required every home tenanted to be supplied with buckets at the expense of the owners. Each house was required to be supplied with as many two-gallon buckets as there were chimneys, and at every alarm of fire "the inhabitants of Georgetown shall send their buckets as speedily as possible to the place of the fire."[16]

The town marshal and the town guard offered some protection to life and property under normal conditions; but, on public days attended by drinking and fighting, even the officers were impotent

[11] *Mountaineer,* Oct. 30, 1846. Jacob Schirmir noted several mass meetings in Charleston: *e.g.,* Dec. 22, 1845, "Public meeting today to relieve the sufferings of the people in the Upper Districts." Journal of Jacob Schirmir (hereafter cited as Schirmir Journal).

[12] Vandiver, Louise A., *Traditions and History of Anderson County,* p. 24.

[13] *Southern Chronicle and Camden Gazette,* July 17, 1822.

[14] *Mountaineer,* Oct. 14, 1842.

[15] *South Carolina State Gazette,* May 19, 1827. Water was furnished by hydrants, doubtless supplied by reservoirs.

[16] *Winyaw Intelligencer,* Dec. 8, 1819.

to uphold the dignity and majesty of the law. Most of the cases tried before the Anderson town court in the 'forties involved drunkenness, street fighting, "hollering" and running horses through the town.[17]

Since general statements about town life cannot properly take into account changing conditions and since such statements must perforce ignore many interesting and unique details, let us consult some contemporary pictures of the urban scene.

Georgetown in 1852, as seen by a traveler, presented on the water-side "a rather forlorn appearance." Two handsome churches and several attractive residences were noted, but the general appearance of the place denoted a static condition. The town, however, was not devoid of industries. There were two large lumber mills, a turpentine distillery and a shoe manufactory producing brogans. The traveler in commenting on the state of morals, religion and education characterized it as "fair, but not remarkable in any degree."[18] The Masons, whose lodge room was in the courthouse, were in 1819 conducting a lottery to raise funds for a lodge room.[19] Sam Paine, the barber, "lately arrived from Fayettevile, N. C.," had fitted up a shop for hair cutting and shaving; but "gentlemen who could not conveniently call at the shop could be served in their homes after ten o'clock each day."[20]

Farther down the coast, Beaufort, the capital of the sea islands, was in April, 1859, partially deserted by its migratory planter population, and the storekeepers were beguiling the time by playing chess.[21] "Beaufort," wrote a correspondent of the Charleston *Daily Courier,* "is the same old Beaufort of twenty years ago," untouched by the spirit of progress. The streets, worked but once a year, were heavy with boggy sand, and sidewalks of any description were rare. There were no public accommodations for travelers, no newspaper and no place of entertainment.[22] Beaufort was a favorite resort for planters, who erected several magnificent private homes in the town. In addition to the elegant private homes, Beaufort contained two imposing churches, the Episcopal and the Baptist, a jail, a town hall and a public library.[23]

[17] Vandiver, *op. cit.,* p. 29.
[18] *Southern Patriot,* June 30, 1852.
[19] *Winyaw Intelligencer,* June 30, 1819. The new Masonic Hall was dedicated in 1827.
[20] *Ibid.,* Feb. 27, 1819.
[21] *Courier,* Apr. 20, 1859.
[22] *Ibid.,* Nov. 16, 1859.
[23] *Ibid.,* Nov. 18, 1859.

All towns were not so placid and static as Beaufort. While none of the towns experienced rapid growth, the majority of them improved slowly in appearance and morals. "Progress," who revisited Allendale in 1858 after an absence of twenty-five years, noted marked improvement in tone and appearance. Instead of grog shops with their concomitants, drunkenness and fighting, he found a thriving moral and industrious community. Log cabins had given place to large framed residences with their "appendages of long rows of white-washed negro cabins." Excellent churches and schools, for which a recent influx of planters was largely responsible, radiated religious and cultural influences and there was not a grog shop within a radius of ten miles of the town.[24]

Chester also claimed a share in the general moral and social advancement of the State, pointing out with pride that her prison had been empty for three months and that "the deputies were talking of letting the entire Calaboose until next January."[25]

T. J. Mims was favorably impressed with Society Hill in Darlington District, home of the celebrated St. David's Society. After a visit to Society Hill, Mims wrote his brother:

> You are aware that I have been in many parts of the Union and I can say decidedly that I never saw just such a society of friends and gentlemen in any quarter. Indeed, all other places so far as I have traveled are perfect strangers to sociality,[26] kindness and true politeness when compared to Society Hill.

This was extravagant praise, superinduced, no doubt, by the cordial manner in which Mims had been received on his recent visit. Nevertheless, Society Hill was widely noted for its polished and cultured society.

Summerville in the 'fifties was a favorite summer retreat, occupied mostly by descendants of old families related by marriage and ties of sentiment.[27] Moultrieville, the most fashionable summer resort in the Low-Country, advertised a commodious hotel, a horse railway, rated as one of the wonders of the age, "an impregnable fort,"[28] and a spacious beach. For diversion the ladies rode horseback and "disported themselves in the waves arrayed in fancy robes of every hue and pattern." To the gentle-

[24] *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, 1858.
[25] Reprint from the Chester *Standard* in the *Courier*, July 8, 1854.
[26] T. J. Mims to J. S. Mims, Apr. 28, 1844. Baptist Historical Collection.
[27] *Courier*, May 10, 1851.
[28] Fort Moultrie.

men, who were permitted to view the bathing beauties only at a distance, the ladies presented in contemporary parlance "a tantalizing spectacle of fairy forms on an enchanted shore." After bathing in the forenoon, the afternoon was given over to a promenade along the beach and the evening to the saloon and the dance, with supper at midnight. Gentlemen, when not in attendance upon the ladies, played ninepins, billiards, shuffleboard and quoits.[29]

Cheraw, at the head of navigation on the Pee Dee River, contained in 1823 an academy, a printing press which issued a weekly paper, four houses of entertainment, thirty stores, numerous dwellings and about 1,000 people. Two large steamboats and a number of smaller boats were employed in navigating the river. One steamboat plied directly between Cheraw and Charleston and the other between Cheraw and Georgetown. Each boat carried from six to eight hundred bales of cotton a trip.[30]

In the Up-Country, the village of Pendleton enjoyed a reputation for refinement. Around the village, many Low-Country planters erected beautiful homes which they occupied in summer and in some instances the year round. Hard by was Fort Hill, the country seat of John C. Calhoun. When the niece of Mrs. Christopher Jenkins visited Pendleton in September, 1840, she wrote her aunt that the society of Pendleton was delightful. "While there we were called upon and visited by several families all from the Low-Country, Mrs. J. C. Calhoun was very attentive to us, we dined with them and passed a most delightful day."[31] In 1829, the village contained an academy, two churches, a printing press which issued the Pendleton *Messenger,* and a celebrated agricultural society[32] which conducted annual fairs.

Not far from Pendleton, at the foot of the mountains, stood the German town of Walhalla. This place was settled largely by a group of German shopkeepers and clerks of Charleston, who in 1850 purchased fifteen or twenty thousand acres of land from Colonel Gresham for the project.[33] As the town was built to afford opportunity for plain people to earn their bread inde-

[29] *Courier,* June 23, 1855. Many of these games had been introduced recently. *Ibid.,* Aug. 17, 1851.

[30] *Southern Chronicle,* Feb. 5, 1823.

[31] Letter dated Sept. 3, 1840. Jenkins MSS.

[32] Pendleton Farmers' Society.

[33] *Southern Patriot,* Apr. 4, 1851; *Courier,* Mar. 23, 1850.

pendently and to bring up honest and industrious families, the community was quite democratic and thrifty. There were few slaves, few paupers and few men of extraordinary means. There were in 1859 in Walhalla two schools, a new church and a Sunday School where religious instruction was given in English and in German.[34]

Greenville, in the midst of an incipient industrial district, was in 1843 a place of some eleven hundred people with three churches, about a dozen stores and two academies.[35] By 1859 there were in the town a corps of mechanics, a coach and carriage factory that employed a hundred mechanics and a flour mill belonging to Vardry McBee. Within a radius of fifteen miles there were four yarn mills giving employment to several hundred poor native whites who had deserted farms and rented lands for employment in the mills.[36] Two places of entertainment, the Planters Hotel and the Mansion House, provided accommodations for man and beast. At the Planters Hotel the rates were as follows:

Board per day, 75 cents per person;
Board per week, $5.00;
Board for a month or longer, $4.00 per week; children and servants half price;
Horses per day 37½ cents.[37]

The Mansion House, operated by John T. Coleman, offered practically the same rates, except that the weekly rate was four instead of five dollars when a person was accompanied by servants and horses. As the town was visited frequently by rough drovers from Tennessee and Kentucky en route with their mules and hogs for Augusta, H. Lester established the Kentucky and Tennessee Inn to accommodate drovers and their herds. Adjacent to this Inn were well-watered lots and good stables. The charge at this hostelry was to be arranged "to accord with the pressure of the times."[38]

At an earlier period the village of Greenville afforded a public bathhouse equipped with a pool and showers supplied with both

[34] *Courier*, July 21, 1859.
[35] *Mountaineer*, Nov. 24, 1843.
[36] *De Bow's Review*, XXVII, 695.
[37] *Mountaineer*, Aug. 16, 1844.
[38] *Ibid.*, Mar. 3, 1843. Hotel prices in the 'forties show a substantial increase over those for 1826. For example, the Greenville Hotel in 1826 offered young men board and comfortable rooms at $2 per week. Greenville *Republican*, Oct. 14, 1826. A comparison of accommodations cannot be made.

hot and cold water. The hours for the admission of gentlemen were from four to seven A.M. and from two to five P.M. Ladies were admitted from eight to eleven A.M. and from six to ten P.M. A warm bath could be had in the public bathtub for twenty-five cents or a shower for six and one-fourth cents.[39] Considering the inadequate arrangements for bathing in private homes, the public bathhouse doubtless appealed strongly to those who enjoyed luxuriating in a copious supply of warm water.

Situated midway between the mountains and the seashore, Columbia, the political capital of the State, sustained a social position second only to Charleston. The town was described by B. F. Perry in 1841 as being "neatly and handsomely built on an area of one or two miles in circumference." "The streets," wrote Perry, "are laid off with great regularity, some of them 150 feet wide and all running parallel at right angles. The buildings in the business part of town are all brick. Some of the private residences are wooden buildings and others of brick—all built with great taste." In the southern part of the town the college presented "two long rows of brick buildings confronting each other." The Lunatic Asylum and the Courthouse were conspicuous landmarks. The State House, a large wooden building situated in the southern part of the town, elicited little praise or comment.[40] One architectural gem which ever attracted favorable notice was Trinity Episcopal Church. A correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* declared that "to my eye there is nothing to compare with it in the United States or the Canadas. It is the very ideal of the most chaste and imposing simplicity."[41] Professor Stueckrath,[42] who invariably found much to praise and little to disparage, thought Columbia the most beautiful city in America. He dilated upon her "elegant society and splendid gardens" and saluted her as "the city of philosophy and flowers."[43]

Columbia was recognized as an educational center for both sexes. For young men the South Carolina College opened an avenue to higher learning; and for young ladies the Columbia Female College, controlled by the Methodists, enjoyed a preeminence second to none in South Carolina. There were, besides, throughout the ante-bellum period, several private academies and

[39] Greenville *Republican,* Aug. 18, 1827.
[40] *Mountaineer,* Mar. 12, 1841.
[41] *Daily Telegraph,* Dec. 7, 1847.
[42] A writer for *De Bow's Review.*
[43] *De Bow's Review,* XXV, 123-124.

seminaries in and around Columbia for the instruction of young ladies.[44]

According to Mrs. Chesnut, Columbia plumed herself on being the home of a very select society. There the first families entertained royally in their homes, displaying the finest silver, glass, china and table linen, and served dinners prepared by cooks who had received their training in Charleston.[45] Public and private balls received due patronage; while benevolent societies, patterned closely on those in Charleston, attracted the support of charitable merchants and planters. Periodically, Columbia served as host to the State Temperance Society, visitors to the fair of the State Agricultural Society, the members of the legislature and political and religious bodies. The problem of feeding and lodging large groups of people gave rise to many jibes and jokes regarding the capacity of Columbia for affording suitable entertainment. Apropos of the proposed celebration in Columbia honoring the Palmetto Regiment of Mexican War fame, the editor of the Charleston *Mercury* ventured the opinion that the "little town of Columbia might suffer a famine as a result of the large consumption of food by so many guests." The editor with evident relish added that Columbia "could not get over the effort of feeding her company for six months."[46]

During court week and other public days the town was on occasion the scene of much revelry and riot. The editor of the Yorkville *Citizen* wrote that he had frequently seen the streets "in a perfect riot by drunken sandhillers without any effort to quell."[47] The "fighting Irish," a small but vocal element in Columbia, doubtless accentuated the "tumult and shouting" customarily in evidence on public days.[48]

For pleasure, the citizens of Columbia were invited to witness a display of fireworks provided by A. J. Brown;[49] to test "the

[44] Among those listed in 1827 we find Mrs. Edwards' Female Seminary, Mrs. Sandford's Seminary and the Columbia Female Academy. *South Carolina State Gazette and Columbia Advertiser,* Jan. 26, Feb. 3, 1827.

[45] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie,* p. 167.

[46] Reprinted in the Edgefield *Advertiser,* July 19, 1848.

[47] Reprinted in the *Daily Carolina Times,* Apr. 23, 1856.

[48] The Rev. John McLees was present in Columbia during court week in Oct., 1847, and noted that a man named D— killed one M— while both were partially intoxicated. Diary of Rev. John McLees, Oct. 19, 1847. (Hereafter cited as McLees Diary).

[49] *Southern Times,* Dec. 4, 1830.

refreshing luxury of Cunningham's Bath House as a corrective to spring fever";[50] to visit Cunningham's Book Store;[51] to attend the races and the Fourth of July celebrations, the theatre and the exhibition of de Veaux's Diorama of Mexican War battles at the United States Hotel.[52]

Before dismissing Columbia, it should be noted that the place, in keeping with other progressive towns, installed in 1853 gas lights for the illumination of the streets.[53]

Charleston, quaint, distinctive and decorous, reigned proudly and unchallenged as the commercial and social capital of South Carolina. To her the whole State rendered homage. In all major political movements her attitude was watched with interest and as an arbiter of behavior and fashion her dictum and example were accepted as definitive.[54] Charleston, at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, marks the spot where South Carolina was cradled; and around it during the Colonial Period the life of the colony revolved, making it in some respects a city-state.[55]

Prior to the Revolution, the merchant class in Charleston received considerable social recognition;[56] but even then the planters maintained the highest social rank. Planters erected elegant town houses in Charleston for residence in summer to escape malaria, and for a temporary sojourn in winter for participation in the gay social life of the city. When the planters and their families were resident in the city there was a great stir in social circles; but when they retired to their country estates the city returned to its customary tranquil sobriety.

By 1848 the population of Charleston was, according to a census prepared by the City Council, 26,451; consisting of 14,187 whites, 10,772 slaves and 1,492 free persons of color.[57] Despite expansion and the acquisition of non-English elements, the city

[50] *Southern Chronicle,* May 10, 1841.

[51] *Ibid.,* Oct. 22, 1840.

[52] *Daily Telegraph,* Apr. 12, 1848. [53] *Courier,* Feb. 22, 1853.

[54] The editor of the Columbia *Carolinian* wrote, Apr. 26, 1855: "Charleston is the pet of the State and whatever affliction befalls her strikes a sympathetic chord in every district within her borders."

[55] Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South,* p. 52.

[56] Wallace, D. D., *History of South Carolina,* II, 364.

[57] Census of the City of Charleston for the Year 1848, p. 9. This census was prepared under the authority of the City Council. The author is unable to explain the discrepancy between the population figures for Charleston as of 1848 and those contained in the *Compendium of the Seventh Census* (pp. 338-339).

continued to be dominated by old families and bore unmistakably the early imprint of English influence and usage. Parrington asserts that Dr. Samuel Johnson could have stepped from Fleet Street in the London of 1780 to the Charleston of 1825 and have felt almost at home.[58] Thomas R. Waring, with more emphasis, declared that "the English tradition is stamped upon Charleston more deeply perhaps than upon any other American community."[59] The English influence was particularly noticeable in the drawing room and in the clubs for gentlemen. It was also revealed in the Charlestonian taste for such sports as horse racing and hunting. Likewise, a preference for country life shown by the Carolina gentry doubtless represents a reflection of the English influence. Contacts with England by Charlestonians were fairly constant and intimate. Many Charlestonians were educated in the Middle Temple, and while resident in London acquired English tastes and manners. The Episcopal Church also supplied a bond of union; but, after all, national customs when transplanted in a new environment must in various subtle ways undergo some modification. The exact counterpart disappears, but strong traces of the original source patently leave their imprint.

To most travelers Charleston appeared quaint and old-fashioned. The narrow streets paved with ancient cobble stones, the old market over which hovered turkey buzzards, the graceful church spires weathering in mist and sunshine, the venerable live oaks and magnolias sheltering stately and oldish homes adorned with balconies that suggested Spain, invariably created the impression that Charleston was a city of great antiquity. A correspondent of the Charleston *Daily Courier* registered his impressions after viewing Charleston for the first time:

> We recollect Messrs. Editors, the feeling of disappointment with which we first beheld Charleston. We had been accustomed to consider her the first Southern city—though not the largest; but when we saw, we could only compare her to a decayed old woman. Though we were obliged to admit that even in her decay she was unmistakably a lady.[60]

In the same year a visitor from New York sketched his impression of the city for the *New York Times:*

[58] Parrington, V. L., *Main Currents in American Thought,* II, 108-109.

[59] *The Carolina Low-Country,* p. 133. Waring asserts (p. 134) that the French influence was negligible. Quoted by permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

[60] *Courier,* June 30, 1853.

Its aspect is almost tropical and the traveler pauses to survey its singularly shaped houses with their balconies and verandahs. Standing in the shrubbery, far more beautiful than the North can boast, the Crepe Myrtle, with its deep green leaves and pink flowers, becomes quite a tree in this delicious clime. The orange, the bay, the magnolia, and the noble live oak lift their branches to shelter dwellings and overlap the streets.[61]

A French traveler, Leon Beauvallet, described Charleston as being "dreadfully filthy—ugly and outrageously built."[62] On the other hand, even so caustic a critic as Mrs. Basil Hall thought Charleston a very pretty place, being especially pleased with the homes screened with Venetian blinds.[63]

The typical Charleston residence was, from the architectural standpoint, unique. Constructed with the view of obtaining privacy and coolness, the dwellings stood with their ends to the street and their fronts to the gardens which were usually enclosed by vine-covered walls which bordered the street. Where the streets ran north and south, the houses faced the south; and, where the streets ran east and west, the houses usually faced the west. Ordinarily, the dwellings were two or three stories high with a length about three times the depth. A single room's depth permitted cross ventilation for the bedrooms of the upper stories; while the double- and triple-decked piazzas[64] (a common feature), running the full length of the dwelling facing the garden, insured privacy and the enjoyment of the full force of the evening breeze. Since the typical dwellings were flush with the sidewalk, the windows were screened from the street by closed shutters; in like manner, the ends of the piazzas flush with the sidewalk were also screened against the gaze of the curious. To secure admission to the interior of one of these dwellings, one must first gain access to the lower piazza by a street door; after which it was necessary to pass another door, fronting the piazza, before entering the hall leading to the reception room.

The gardens behind the high brick walls or ornamental wrought-iron fences were celebrated for their tropical luxuriance, exhibiting a profusion of oleanders, yuccas, azaleas, crepe myrtles

[61] Reprint from the *New York Times* in the *Courier,* Nov. 9, 1853.

[62] *Ibid.,* June 26, 1856.

[63] Hall, Mrs. Basil, *The Aristocratic Journey,* p. 210.

[64] A feature which appeared after the Revolution. See Simons, Albert, "The Development of Charleston Architecture," in *The Architectural Forum,* Oct., 1923.

and magnolias. Many of the piazzas were draped with colorful climbing vines which served as a screen in summer, and at the same time helped to emphasize the atmosphere of seclusion.

Many of the early private mansions reveal the Georgian influence. These homes, built usually of brick,[65] presented ornamental façades to the street; but, nevertheless, preserved the atmosphere of dignified seclusion. Standing on high enclosed basements, the Georgian homes featured doorways well above the level of the street, approached by one or two flights of steps flanked with wrought-iron railings. The doorways, with their wealth of detail, highly polished brass fittings and large overhead fan lights, have always compelled favorable and frequently envious notice. For the interior of the Georgian homes no generalization will hold. One, however, immediately visualizes spacious drawing rooms with Brussels carpets, large mirrors in massive gilt frames, marble mantels, chandeliers, portraits in oil, together with numerous other details. The dining room calls to mind rosewood or mahogany sideboards, laden with cut glass bowls, decanters and richly embossed silver plate, while the faintly lighted bedrooms, with their massive four-poster beds and towering dressers, suggest formal but peaceful seclusion. The old families of Charleston laid great store by family life, and consequently exerted themselves to make their homes comfortable and attractive.

About 1820 the Georgian and Colonial influences commenced to wane, giving place to classical lines and columns. For example, Hibernian Hall, the First Baptist Church and Market Hall admirably reflect the new tendency in public buildings. In private homes as well, Grecian columns and capitals appeared on the double- and triple-decked piazzas with increasing frequency.[66]

The homes of the wealthy were amply staffed with servants, including a cook, butler, housekeeper, seamstress, scullion, laundress, one or more footmen, a nurse and nursery maids and a complement of chamber maids.[67] The servants were trained to discharge their tasks efficiently and to be courteous to members of the family and to distinguished guests. Matrons entertained frequently and tastefully; indeed, entertainment in the home was a cardinal feature of Charleston society, and the gentle art of

[65] The typical Charleston dwelling was usually constructed of wood, but the servants' quarters in the rear were generally of stone or brick.

[66] Simons, Albert, *loc. cit.*, p. 159.

[67] Ravenel, Mrs. St. Julian, *Charleston, the Place and the People*, p. 398.

hospitality was cultivated to a remarkable degree of perfection. The testimony of Fredrika Bremer, who visited Charleston in the 'fifties with an open mind, fully confirms the reputation which Charleston matrons sustained for gracious reception of acceptable visitors.[68] Adam Hodgson observed that the best society in Charleston was not very extensive, but "much superior to any I have yet seen in America." Hodgson, in common with most visitors, discovered that Charleston society was exclusive and that strangers, "unless distinguished by great personal merit find it extremely hard to gain admission."[69] Mrs. Basil Hall, who was doubtless *persona non grata* to Charleston society, deemed the people hospitable but cold of manner, lacking in cordiality and heartiness.[70]

As was noted by Adam Hodgson, undistinguished strangers found Charleston society singularly indifferent to their presence. Even the homes, with their closed shutters and sheltering walls, looked inhospitable. A feeling of isolation pursued the stranger seeking social contacts. There existed the usual opportunities for business contacts, but social contacts with the old and established families came slowly if at all.

A rather cutting satire upon the people of Charleston was supplied by Thomas Hardy, a Scotchman, who by will directed that if he died in Charleston his remains be interred in the strangers' burying ground "in a sequestered nook beneath trees if possible." Over his grave he desired that a small marble headpiece be placed, bearing the following inscription: A stranger lived, a stranger died, a stranger land my grave supplied.[71]

Native Charlestonians, despite, or perhaps because of, the Charleston social pattern, loved the city as devotedly as the Athenians loved Athens. They seldom removed permanently, preferring Charleston as a place of residence to any spot on the face of the earth. Even Charleston brides were loath to leave their native city for residence with their husbands in the Up-Country. B. F. Perry, in attempting to reconcile his prospective Charleston bride to a residence in Greenville, praised "the generous hospitality and noble bearing" of Charlestonians and then

[68] Bremer, Fredrika, *The Homes of the New World,* I, 280-282.

[69] Hodgson, Adam, *Remarks during a Journey through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, 1821,* p. 120. [70] Hall, *op. cit.,* p. 213.

[71] Judge of Probate's Office, Charleston County Courthouse, Will Book K (1845-1851), p. 166.

entered upon a panegyric of the Up-Country with such effusion as to overcome the aversion of his fiancée for life in a small Up-Country town.[72]

Among the non-English elements in Charleston, the Irish were the most turbulent and pugnacious. There were a great many Irishmen in Charleston who, true to Irish form, drank whiskey freely and fought with or without provocation. Jacob Schirmir mentions several disturbances created by the Irish, of which the following is somewhat typical:

> Fight this afternoon as the boat was leaving the Island. A row took place near the boat between some young men and the Irish when Scott and Carter were considerably cut up.[73]

The Germans in Charleston were clannish and tenacious of national traits. They were, as a rule, tradesmen, of whom Jacob Schirmir was a first-rate example. The Germans, with characteristic clannishness, organized a military company, the German Fusiliers, the German Friendly Society and St. John's Lutheran Church. Through these organizations and through their business enterprises, the Germans contributed largely to the welfare of the city.[74]

The Directory of the Jews of Charleston, 1824-1860, contains 202 names; but the list is not complete. These people, according to the historian of the Jews of South Carolina, "were to be found in every sphere of commercial and political life." A few achieved distinction as men of letters.[75]

The procedings of the Council of the City of Charleston throw a great deal of light on the problem of law enforcement among the lower classes. In this connection Marshall Pendergast's report for Jan. 6, 1840, is of interest:

> Driver of dray no. 96 breaking lamp in George Street through neglectful driving—fined five dollars for breaking lamp, $7.00 for neglectful driving. Driver of dray no. 200, neglectful driving thereby injuring pavement. Fined by his Honor the Mayor $5.00

[72] Perry, Hext McCall, ed., *Letters of My Father to My Mother,* pp. 25-26.

[73] Schirmir Journal, Aug. 23, 1857. See also entry of Mar. 20, 1852; of July 20, 1854.

[74] A history of the German Friendly Society has been published by G. J. Gongware. Miss Mabel Webber, Secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society, states that there was a feud between the Irish and Germans in Charleston.

[75] Elzas, B. A., *The Jews of South Carolina,* pp. 167-178.

or twenty lashes. Servant driving immediately in the rear of military company $1.00 or ten lashes. Servant galloping horse through King Street with cart. Fined $5.00 or twenty lashes. Slave at liquor bar, no ticket, clerk in charge fined $20.00.[76]

Aside from the traffic problem, the regulation of the liquor trade was a constant source of trouble. Marshall Pendergast's report for Jan. 25, 1840, cites one person selling liquor to slaves, another for selling liquor without a license, another for retailing liquor in a back room, and still another for having liquor in his store without a license.[77]

Much of the devilment perpetrated around Charleston was confined to the Neck, an area just outside the city limits to the north. The difficulty of policing this area, to which strict discipline in the city drove lawless persons,[78] resulted in the annexation of Charleston Neck in 1849.[79]

Precaution against fires led to the enactment of ordinances against burning out chimneys, the erection of steam saw mills, or any other mills propelled by steam, within the city limits unless the buildings be constructed of stone or brick.[80] Despite various precautions and the presence of several volunteer fire companies equipped with fire engines, the city suffered several disastrous fires; but perhaps none more destructive than the fire of 1838, which reduced a goodly portion of the place to ashes.[81]

As to places of entertainment, there were, according to Robert Newman Gourdin, no first-class hotels in Charleston in 1834. Gourdin mentions Wyatt's, corner of King and Society streets; Chisholm's, corner of King and George streets; and the Planters Hotel, corner of Church and Queen streets. Wyatt's and Chisholm's, he asserted, were more like caravansaries than hotels. Jones Hotel on Broad Street next to St. Michael's Church, kept by John Jones, a person of color, was the resort of the élite. So unsatisfactory were hotel accommodations that persons coming to Charleston seeking pleasure or health had generally to find accommodations in private boarding houses.[82] White Point

[76] *Courier*, Jan. 8, 1840. [77] *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1840.

[78] Report of the Proceedings of the City Authorities of Charleston during the Past Year Ending Sept. 1, 1837, p. 11.

[79] Schirmir Journal, Dec. 9, 1849.

[80] Ordinances of the City of Charleston, 1844, p. 236. Ordinance ratified Nov. 24, 1835. [81] Year Book, City of Charleston, 1880, p. 274.

[82] Family Memoir of Robert Newman Gourdin, p. 93. (Hereafter cited as Gourdin Memoir). This condition subsequently improved.

Garden, a part of the present Battery, an area restricted to white persons between the hours of five and ten P.M., was a cool and pleasant retreat for ladies and gentlemen.[83] Just off White Point over the water, White K. Garden erected a bathhouse equipped for affording warm salt baths and swimming baths. As an adjunct to the bathhouse, the proprietor set up a refreshment stand or "Ice Cream Saloon lighted with gas and supplied with ice cream sherbets and soda water of the best flavors."[84]

Prior to the installation of gas lights in 1854 the city streets were lighted with lamps which required the attention of two lamplighters. The lamplighters, employed by the city, were required to employ not less than six slaves or other servants to assist in lighting all the lamps.[85]

If we may take the word of Jacob Schirmir, elections in Charleston were attended by much excitement and sometimes violence. Charlestonians evinced keen interest in political meetings and on occasion would resort to strong-arm methods for influencing the outcome of the elections. Jacob Schirmir related that on September 2, 1832, when the Nullification controversy was at fever heat, two political factions in the city almost came to blows. It appears that a man fell from the fourth-story window of a house occupied by the Union Party on Queen Street. As a result of the fall the man was killed. Excitement ran high, foreboding violence. "It was finally mutually agreed," wrote Schirmir, "that each party should set at liberty all those persons they had locked up."[86] The election which precipitated this episode was also responsible for a duel between a Union man and a Nullifier.[87]

Charleston with its political excitements, periodic outbreaks of yellow fever, unique architecture, beautiful gardens, charitable and educational institutions and cultured society was, by general agreement, an interesting place. Strangers might think it malodorous and old-fashioned, but those who claimed it as their ancestral home deemed it a place of beauty and unique charm.

[83] Ordinances of the City of Charleston, 1844, pp. 24-25.

[84] *Courier*, June 6, 1856. A public bathing establishment was also being operated on Church Street. *Ibid.*, Apr. 28, 1851.

[85] Ordinances of the City of Charleston, 1837, p. 172. Ordinance ratified July 17, 1818.

[86] Schirmir Journal, Sept. 2, 1832.

[87] *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1832. See also entry of Sept. 8, 1831, for an account of another political brawl.

CHAPTER IV

BROADCLOTH

The subject of social bases and relations is highly ramified and fugitive. Attempts to set up exclusive social categories invariably end in disappointment, for the gradations of Southern society will not admit of strict classification. Social groupings appear on broad canvas, but close examination reveals many overlappings. There was more crystallization of social strata below the "fall line" than above it. This is explainable in part on the ground that the cultural and material differences between the well-to-do and the poor whites were greater in the Low-Country than in the Up-Country. The economic background of the Up-Country, with its comparative isolation and its more diversified pursuits, lent itself to the development of a more democratic society. As has been noted elsewhere,[1] however, with the recession of frontier conditions, the Up-Country came to partake more and more of the social organization of the plantation civilization of the Coastal Plain.

For practical purposes, we may divide the white population of South Carolina into three overlapping categories: (a) the planters and the professions; (b) the middle classes composed of farmers, tradesmen and artisans; (c) the poor whites. The second group was by far the largest; the first group was the most influential; the third least numerous and consequential.[2]

As perhaps in no other state, there existed in South Carolina a conscious and militant aristocracy composed of the planting and professional classes—an aristocracy that took pride in its English antecedents, its public service, its standards of conduct and its guardianship of the social order. While the members of the legal and medical profession ranked high, it is perhaps accurate to state

[1] *Supra*, p. 3.

[2] Nearly half of the white families of South Carolina owned slaves. In 1860 there were 26,701 slaveowners in South Carolina, with an average of fifteen slaves to the owner. The average slaveholding in the Low-Country was twenty-one; in the Up-Country, eleven. Henry, H. M., *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, p. 4.

that with the passing of the decades, the station of planter became the *ne plus ultra* of social achievement. Governor B. F. Henegan in his message to the legislature in November, 1840, was gratified to know that the occupation of a planter, "always respectable among us, has risen in public estimation to a dignity not second to the learned professions."[3] While the law was considered the road to political preferment in South Carolina,[4] it frequently happened that a lawyer upon becoming wealthy turned to politics or planting or both. James H. Hammond, a rising young lawyer, practiced in Columbia from 1828-1831, or until his marriage, when he gave up his legal practice to become a planter at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River.[5] Samuel Gourdin read law under Benjamin C. Yancey of Charleston and was admitted to the bar in 1820; he soon abandoned the profession to take charge of a rice plantation on the Cooper River.[6] In like manner, John C. Calhoun gave up the practice of law for politics and planting. These examples are not cited to prove that the legal profession was not on a parity with planting. The transfer was probably made because the station of planter conferred more mental and bodily ease and gave greater opportunity for expansive and leisurely living. No persons enjoyed greater social distinction than certain members of the bar such as Hugh S. Legare, Robert Y. Hayne, Langdon Cheves, William Drayton and William H. deSaussure.[7] There was, however, in the profession a type of shyster lawyer who by his chicanery earned the suspicion of his fellow-citizens; but, in the main, the bar of the State was distinguished for talent, integrity and learning.

A knowledge of the law was considered useful not only for those contemplating a public career, but also as a social asset. Daniel Wallace, of Union, S. C., in writing to his son, advised him to devote his time to reading law whether he attempted to practice or not.

> Every citizen, who expects to take any position ought to know the general principles of the laws of his country. Without this he will often find himself compelled to sit and listen to conversation in which he can take no part.[8]

[3] *Mountaineer,* Dec. 4, 1840; *ibid.,* May 3, 1835.
[4] Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences of Charleston,* p. 69.
[5] Hammond Diary, Feb. 6, 1841.
[6] Gourdin Memoir, p. 6.
[7] Fraser, *op. cit.,* p. 76.
[8] Daniel Wallace to his son, Aug. 20, 1850. MS. in possession of Mrs. D. H. Wallace, Greenville, S. C.

Physicians may not have earned money faster than lawyers; but it is safe to assume that they worked more steadily and therefore retired from active practice to become planters somewhat earlier than did the lawyers. It was common, however, to find a combination planter and physician in the small towns and rural districts. This combination was more in evidence than the planter-lawyer combination. Dr. Samuel Cordes, who practiced medicine in the parish of St. James, Santee, from about 1813 to about 1850 also engaged in planting. It is said that "he never made much of a crop except once, when he made a fine crop of corn; whereupon, he named his plantation Egypt."[9] Dr. John Logan, of Abbeville District, besides practicing medicine, conducted a farm on which he employed an overseer.[10]

Members of the medical profession might marry the daughters of planters. The farm journal of J. Porcher Gaillard contains numerous references to social calls by practicing physicians. On occasion, the physician would pay a professional visit to some member of the family and remain for dinner. Some idea of the professional standing of a young physician in Charleston may be gathered from the following excerpt from an old letter:

> My little practice is sufficient to provide for daily wants, but as still a couple of months must pass before custom allows me to present my bills, I feel myself much straitened [*sic*]. I prefer town practice; here at all events people acknowledge the physician's services better than the rich folks of Spartanburg. What would Mr. M— say if he knew that for one operation performed a couple of months ago, I am to receive by our fee bill a hundred dollars.[11]

The avenues wide open to the sons of planters were the learned professions, the army, navy, politics and planting. Hostility to trade seems to have been more pronounced in the first three decades of the nineteenth century than in the 'forties and 'fifties. So intensely did W. Thacher feel the stigma of trade when employed as a bookkeeper on King Street in Charleston in 1818 that he wrote,

[9] Doar, David, *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James Santee,* p. 34.

[10] Diary of Dr. John Logan for the year 1857. Other examples are cited in the *Ravenel Records* and in O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry.*

[11] Dr. Christopher Oeland to his mother, Nov. 22, 1840. R. H. Smith Papers.

I should think my own father an accomplished knave if he had at any time made money in the dry goods line in King Street. They are all Jews and worse than Jews—Yankees, for a Yankee can Jew a Jew directly.[12]

The situation was not so bad as represented by this young man; yet so deep-seated was the prejudice against trade that most of the Charleston merchants in the early ante-bellum period came from Europe or the eastern states. Of the twenty-one leading commercial houses of Charleston from 1795 to 1816 only one was owned or managed by a native of South Carolina.[13] "As soon as a merchant acquired a fortune in Charleston, he invested it in land and negroes and became a planter."[14] Mrs. St. Julian Ravenel corroborates the testimony of others in asserting that by 1800 the trade of the city (Charleston) was managed almost entirely by English and Scotch merchants. She assures us, however, that by 1840 native sons returned to the mercantile business.[15] Robert Newman Gourdin declared that his brother, Henry, was the first planter's son "to embark in a business on which the elite of the community looked down."[16] Gourdin lived to see a change in attitude toward trade and tradesmen, for he records that when the war began in 1861 "the names of the old families of the State and City were on the signs in our streets."[17] Gourdin was probably correct in his observation that had not the people of Charleston gone into trade, "the South Carolina Railroad could not have been built when it was and the commercial progress of Charleston in the thirty years preceding the late war would not have been a fact."[18]

Factorage was the one branch of trade which was not regarded as derogatory to social standing. A distinction was made between the receiving and exporting of produce and the buying and selling of it. Factors who received and sold produce for the planters and who purchased supplies for their patrons stood in much higher esteem than did retail merchants. The aversion for trade in general sprang from a notion universally shared by the planting

[12] Thacher Diary, Oct., 1818.

[13] Trenholm, W. L., Centennial Address before the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, Feb. 11, 1844, p. 27. [14] *Ibid.*

[15] Ravenel, Mrs. St. Julian, *Charleston, The Place and the People,* p. 387.

[16] Gourdin Memoir, p. 103. Henry Gourdin entered the office of Mr. Maxwell, an exporter, in 1819.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 104. [18] *Ibid.,* p. 105.

and professional classes that the pursuit of gain was vulgar. While money was not despised, planters claimed to lay more stress on land, political power, agreeable manners and family life than on the acquisition of money.[19] Jews and Yankees devoid of social position and with an itch for money-making could afford to engage in vulgar pursuits; but the proud Carolinian, like his English forbears, could not afford to compromise his family's standing by engaging in "the low and plebeian pursuit of trade." A false and costly pride this, alleged James H. Hammond, William Gregg and others; a pride which militated against the establishment of manufactures and a diversified economy.[20]

The limits of the South Carolina aristocracy were elastic. Like the English nobility, the aristocracy of South Carolina was strengthened from time to time by accessions from the middle classes. Successful young men sometimes entered the ranks of the aristocracy through the avenue of marriage. These accessions were not common, as it was sometimes difficult for an aristocratic family to assimilate unpromising offshoots of inferior stock. The traditional procedure was for aristocrat to marry aristocrat even though such an alliance might fall within the bounds of kinship. That the planting and professional aristocracy of South Carolina was not a close corporation, however, is attested by the fact that James Louis Petigru, the celebrated Charleston lawyer, born in comparative poverty, was able, by virtue of his talents and ambition, to marry Jane Amelia Postell, daughter of a planter of Coosawhatchie.[21] George McDuffie, born in obscurity, married the daughter of Colonel Richard Singleton, a wealthy planter.[22] William Lucas, son of Jonathan Lucas, inventor of the rice mill, was trained in William Naylor's counting house in Charleston; notwithstanding, he married Miss Charlotte Hume, daughter of John Hume, planter.[23] Many examples of the marriage of planters' daughters to bold and enterprising young men of the middle classes could be cited, but one other will suffice. Samuel Maverick, planter of Pendleton, started his career as a clerk with the firm of Wodsworth and Turpen in Charleston. As a result of his industry, he

[19] Adams, J. T., *America's Tragedy*, pp. 88-89.

[20] Gregg, William, *Essays on Domestic Industry, passim.*

[21] Carson, J. P., *Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru*, pp. 34-40.

[22] Leiding, Harriette K., *Historic Houses of South Carolina*, p. 160.

[23] John Naylor to William Lucas, Mar. 15, 1820. Lucas Papers.

was eventually admitted as a partner to the firm. Not content with a partnership, Maverick established a mercantile business of his own and amassed a fortune estimated at $500,000. In 1802 he married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of General Robert Anderson of Pendleton, S. C., and subsequently established his residence at Pendleton where he became one of the largest landowners in the State.[24]

Aristocrats to the manner born and those who rose to the ranks of the aristocracy generally shared certain traits. First of all, an aristocrat was characterized by individuality, not of dress, but of bearing and manner. Dwelling, as a rule, somewhat apart from the main thoroughfares of travel, planters ruled their servants with virtually plenary authority. They were to all intents and purposes supreme judges, arbiters and lawmakers, accustomed to command and to receive deference and obedience. Naturally, such a situation tended to exalt the ego of the master and to invest him with a lordly manner. Edmund Burke, with keen insight, stated the case aptly when he wrote:

> In Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom to them is not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege—In such a people haughtiness of domination combines with a spirit of freedom, fortifies and renders it invincible.[25]

The aristocrat developed not only a virile and lusty individuality but also an exalted conception of personal honor. In consequence, he was quick to resent any reflection on his veracity or the rectitude of his intentions. Indeed, gentlemen subscribed to an unwritten code of honor, which stipulated that a gentleman's word was as good as his bond. In passing on the qualifications of a young man who had applied to Governor Manning for a position, James Simmons remarked:

> I know him very well. He is a graduate of the Military Academy and is an energetic, sensible, reliable young man. He comes of first rate Carolina stock and his breed is good. You can rely on him.[26]

[24] *Southern Patriot*, May 13, 1852. Maverick owned lands in Alabama and Texas. He was survived by two children, Mrs. Van Wyck and Samuel Maverick, Jr., of Texas.

[25] Quoted in *Southern Literary Messenger*, Aug., 1857.

[26] James Simmons to Governor Manning, Jan. 7, 1859. *Chesnut-Manning-Miller Papers.*

An infraction of the unwritten code of the gentleman usually caused the aggrieved party to invoke the *code duello* as the most satisfactory and dignified manner of settling an affair of honor.

Duelling was confined to those who claimed to be "gentlemen"; and was extenuated on the ground that it tended to preserve the amenities of life, that it was an incentive to virtue and a shield of personal honor—honor which the courts were powerless to defend.[27] The law, it was held, did not and could not provide an adequate remedy for the innuendo of the slanderer, covert insinuation, or personal slights. Satisfaction in such cases could be obtained only on the field of honor in accordance with the *code duello*.[28] Duelling was by most people deplored. Although many prominent and useful men sacrificed their lives on the field of honor, and public sentiment became increasingly hostile to duelling, the practice could not be eradicated. Repeated legislative enactments for penalizing parties to a duel contributed very little to the abatement of the evil. It was possible to evade the law by fighting in another state. If, however, the duel took place privately in Charleston, the surviving party or parties usually escaped prosecution. Jacob Schirmir mentions many duels in his Journal, but only one case of prosecution. He recounted:

> Duel this morning about five o'clock back of the race course. Mr. L— and Mr. D— met to settle their dispute when the former was instantly killed. In October court he (D—) was indicted, but the grand jury ignored the bill.[29]

Men who guarded their honor, but deplored the practice of duelling, found it exceedingly embarrassing to decline a challenge because the challenger reserved, and sometimes exercised, the privilege of publicly posting the challenged party as a poltroon and a coward for refusal to fight.[30]

The aristocrat was noted for his benevolence. It appears that the planting aristocracy as well as the professional classes recognized a social obligation towards the orphans, paupers and the physically and mentally afflicted. At any rate, the well-to-do were generous in support of local charities. In Charleston alone,

[27] "A Defense of Duelling" in the *City Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1822.

[28] Consult *The Code of Honor or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds in Duelling*, by John Lyde Wilson.

[29] Schirmir Journal, Aug. 2, 1853. [30] *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1832.

Robert Mills noted in 1826 sixteen strictly benevolent societies. The most active and renowned were the St. Andrew's Society, founded in 1729, and the South Carolina Society, founded in 1736.[31] Mills asserted that Charleston possessed a greater number of charitable institutions in proportion to population than any other city in the United States. These societies, supported by voluntary contributions, assisted in the education of indigent and orphan children, the support of widows and the care of the disabled. Organized charities, privately supported, were not only active in Charleston, but elsewhere in the State, as for example, Camden, Columbia, and Greenville.

Individuals frequently remembered charitable organizations in their wills and on occasion left sums of money or property in trust for the establishment of hospitals and other social welfare agencies. William Turpin of Charleston (resident of New York) left by will two hundred dollars to each of the following societies: the Fellowship Society, the Medical Society, and the Mount Zion Society.[32] Since Turpin was an abolitionist, as demonstrated by his gift of $1,500 to Benjamin Lundy and $500 to William Lloyd Garrison, the benevolent societies of South Carolina may have received his donations with some misgiving. Miss Elizabeth Aiken left by will to the City of Charleston a lot on Meeting Street nearly opposite the Circular Church, on which there was "a two-story double tenement of wood," on the condition that the City Council establish there a suitable hospital for the reception and maintenance of foundlings within the parishes of St. Michael and St. Philip. The gift was accepted and provision made for establishing the hospital.[33]

Records of direct individual relief are scarce; and, without the records, one can only surmise. It is a matter of record, however, that when John C. Calhoun was in declining health and fortune, sympathetic friends in Charleston raised by subscription the sum of $27,000 for his use. Calhoun died before he was

[31] Mills, Robert, *Statistics,* pp. 432-436. The sum of money expended in relief by the several societies of Charleston in 1855 was reckoned at $25,000. *De Bow's Review,* XVIII, 411 (footnote).

[32] Last Will and Testament of William Turpin of Charleston. *Pamphlet* (New York, 1835).

[33] Ordinances of the City of Charleston, 1844, p. 121. Ratified Aug. 22, 1843.

asked to accept the money, and it was subsequently turned over to his widow to retire the indebtedness on the Calhoun estate.[34]

The aristocrat was patriotic and militaristic. To many individuals, love of state was paramount to love of the Union. Alfred Huger, of Charleston, in an address to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, said:

> She South Carolina is my mother. I have all my life loved what she has loved and hated what she has hated; everything she had I made my own and every act of hers was my act. As I have had but one hope, to live with her, so now I have but one desire to die on her soil and be laid in her bosom. If I am wrong in everything else, I know I am right in loving South Carolina.[35]

Such unquestioned devotion to South Carolina was doubtless one of the reasons for the promptness with which South Carolinians met every challenge to the claims of their State in her relations to the Federal Union.

Every able-bodied young man in South Carolina was expected to be enrolled in the militia or as a member of a volunteer fire company. Members of fire companies were exempt from militia duty[36] on the ground that volunteer service in a fire company was the equivalent of attending muster and serving at intervals as a member of the local patrol.

The presence of a military college, The Citadel, numerous muster grounds, arsenals and the emphasis on militia duty attest the prevalence of the military spirit. William Gilmore Simms declared that "the people of the South are emphatically a military people."[37] The profession of arms was an honorable one, inherited from the Middle Ages when lords of the manor fared forth in full panoply to prey upon weak neighbors. Aside from an inherited and cultivated propensity for military pageantry, high official station in the militia was used as a stepping stone to politi-

[34] Gourdin Memoir, pp. 133-135. Gourdin stated that his memory "was perfectly clear on that point."

[35] Snowden, Yates, *The Planters of St. John's,* p. 13.

[36] Statutes at Large of South Carolina, VI, 312. Every considerable town had its Board of Fire Masters who had charge of the fire-fighting equipment. Greenville purchased its first fire engine in 1842. Prior to that time the town relied upon hook and axe companies. *Mountaineer,* Oct. 4, 1842.

[37] Simms, W. G., "The Morals of Slavery" in *The Pro-Slavery Argument,* pp. 244-245.

cal preferment. James H. Hammond desired very much to be elected Brigadier-General for three reasons: "I am fond of the military, it will give me some additional influence, and it will carry me on my reviews through a part of the State where I should very much like to go."[38]

Other qualities which may be ascribed to the aristocracy are hospitality to individuals, deference for women of their class and warmth and charm of manner.

"What an immense difference there is in the manners of a Southern gentleman and most of those who are at the head of society in the Middle and Northern States," wrote G. W. Featherstonhaugh. "Here [the South] the conversation was always liberal and instructive and seldom suggested by selfish speculation of what they might gain by following a certain line of conduct."[39] "The Carolinian of degree," wrote Gaillard Hunt, "is open-hearted, open-handed, generous, loyal, brave and affectionate."[40] At the same time, Hunt noted that the Carolinian "is impulsive, improvident, intolerant, quick-tempered, and passionate."[41] A somewhat more unfriendly critic, W. H. Russell, testified unreservedly as to the versatility and personal charm of Charlestonians; but he concluded that with all their pride of place and ancestry, "they are no less prostrate before the almighty dollar."[42] Even the inimitable Mrs. Chesnut, a product of the Old South, saw clearly the faults of Southern aristocrats. With reference to Senator Chesnut's father, Mrs. Chesnut wrote: "He is charming—the man of all others I like strangers to see—a noble representative of our country." Then, turning to the other side of the picture, she continued: "Yes, you can find him. Wherever there is a looking glass, a bottle or a woman there he will be also."[43]

It is easy to idealize the gentleman of the Old South, to clothe him with qualities which he did not possess in the highest degree. While possessing in varying degrees many or all of the good qualities ascribed by contemporary observers, gentlemen acquired, partially as a result of relief from manual labor, habits which were

[38] Hammond Diary, Feb. 8, 1841.

[39] Featherstonhaugh, G. W., *Excursion through the Slave States*, II, 220.

[40] Carson, J. P., *Life, Letters and Speeches of James Louis Petigru* (Introduction).

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, p. 118.

[43] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie*, p. 430.

enervating and expensive. Men of the class "quaffed their tumblers of brandy in cavalier fashion"; gambled on horse races and cockfights; lived in an honorable, though uncomfortable, state of debt; magnanimously signed notes for friends upon request; and devoted, in general, too much time to "the flesh pots of Egypt."[44]

The majority of the people of high and low degree loved "to make holiday," to revel in the excitement of the race, the chase, the tournament, the dance and other diversions suggestive of cavalier tastes. A minority, restrained by religious scruples, commonly abstained from forms of entertainment attended by drinking, betting and profane swearing. All classes participated in processions, political meetings and agricultural fairs with a show of democracy; but lack of money and of social rank forced the common people to attend the races and the tournaments as spectators or in the capacity of assistants.

The sport *par excellence* of the gentry was horse racing. The planters were great lovers of fine horses which they bred and groomed for the turf. Practically all of the leading towns possessed jockey clubs and race tracks, and regularly advertised the races in the local papers. The racing season began in October in the Up-Country and terminated in a blaze of splendor with the February races in Charleston. Small purses, made up in part of gate receipts and entrance fees, were offered the winners in the one-, two-, and three-mile heats. The gay and noisy crowds that attended the Up-Country races shocked sober and sedate citizens, who pronounced the whole to be a demoralizing spectacle.[45] B. F. Perry wrote his wife apropos of the crowd in Columbia during the races in January, 1837:

> I found a much greater crowd in Columbia than when I left Charleston. But oh, the change to black legs, jockeys and cut throats. I do not think I ever witnessed a more villianous, dissipated looking set of men in my life than I now find at this hotel. It is race week and the gamblers from every part of the world seem to be in attendance.[46]

[44] As to dress, gentlemen on parade wore tight-fitting pants and coats, fancy vests, stocks and cravats. In winter, cloaks, partially draped with capes, were worn for warmth. Boots and beaver hats were in good taste at outdoor assemblies. Styles in neckwear and vests changed rather rapidly.

[45] For a well-reasoned broadside against racing, consult a pamphlet entitled *Horse Racing and Christian Principles and Duty Incompatible* (Charleston, 1837), anonymous.

[46] Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother*, p. 20.

The races in Charleston took place in February in the midst of the gay season, which lasted from the latter part of January until the beginning of Lent. During this season, planters, combining business and pleasure, brought their families to Charleston for attendance upon theatrical performances, the St. Cecilia Ball, the races and the Jockey Club Ball ("the most splendid of the season").[47] Practically everyone turned out for the races, the rabble and the gentry, mechanics and shopkeepers. The road to the race course was thronged with pedestrians, who flanked a colorful procession of the gentry in glistening carriages drawn by two or four animated horses. At the race course, the grandstand was filled to capacity with fashionable ladies and courtly gentlemen in holiday mood, who eagerly discussed the merits of horses and jockeys. With reckless abandon, large sums of money were placed on favorite horses entered for one or more of the various heats.[48] The crowd that pressed against the rail of the race track, caught up in the swirl and fanfare, stood on tiptoe to witness the start. Amid much badinage and jostling, the race got under way; as it proceeded and the jockeys applied the spurs to their mounts for the last great burst of speed, men shouted hoarsely and women waved frantically, until the winning horse was led off the field caressed by the owner and admired by the crowd. For three or four days the races continued; money was lost and won, horseflesh praised and damned, jockeys reproached and commended. It was a gala occasion, the leading sporting event of the year.

Throughout the State the patriotic fervor of South Carolinians found expression in Fourth of July celebrations. The manner of observing the Fourth varied somewhat in detail, but the general order of events could be forecast accurately. Ordinarily, there was a procession which featured the military companies, voluntary firemen, societies[49] and distinguished citizens. After the procession had filed up the main street or thoroughfare to a church or outdoor platform, the Declaration of Independence was read, followed by an oration and a public dinner. When the Fourth of July was celebrated at Graham Springs, near Cokesburg, S.

[47] Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

[48] In 1843 the South Carolina Jockey Club offered a prize of $1,000 for the four-mile heat, $750 for the three-mile heat and $500 for the two-mile heat. *Courier*, Jan. 27, 1843.

[49] In the 'fifties the Sons of Temperance and the Sunday Schools frequently stamped the occasion with a religious emphasis.

C., in 1847, a stand was erected, seats prepared and tables spread by the managers. At eleven o'clock the company assembled, the Declaration of Independence was read, and the presiding officer introduced the orator of the day, who spoke for about an hour "in an oration replete with glowing patriotism and fervid eloquence." After the oration the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner. The presiding officer read from the stand the regular toasts, which included as usual one to "the fair daughters of America."[50] In 1832 there were seven or eight celebrations of the Glorious Fourth in different parts of the Abbeville District, to which the voters and potential or declared candidates to public office repaired "to eat, drink and be merry." The alibi of S. A. Townes for being absent from a Fourth of July celebration in 1833 was set forth in a letter from this gentleman to Geo. F. Townes:

> There are several celebrations today in different parts of the District, but as I did not feel in the humor to make a speech, and as the exposure to the sun, whiskey and half-barbecued beef, pork, and mutton might give me the fever or the cholera, I thought it might be the safest as well as the most pleasant to stay at home and sit in the shade.[51]

During periods of political activity, when some representative of the State returned from the national capital after having served with distinction in the Congress, public dinners were in order. The citizens of South Carolina "delighted to honor" distinguished sons and at the same time to devour large quantities of succulent barbecued pig. Barbecue, with its pungent relish, was essentially a man's dish; hence, when a public dinner was served, the announcement that barbecue would grace the tables was alone sufficient to insure the presence of a crowd of men. In 1847 the Edgefield *Advertiser* carried the following notice, which is somewhat typical:

> The citizens of this and adjoining districts are invited to attend a barbecue to be given Saturday the 27th near Edgefield C. H. to that pure patriot and distinguished orator and statesman, George McDuffie. The volunteer companies of this District, cavalry and infantry, are invited to attend in uniform.[52]

[50] Abbeville *Press and Banner*, July 21, 1847.

[51] S. A. Townes to Geo. F. Townes, July 4, 1833. Townes Correspondence.

[52] Edgefield *Advertiser*, June 17, 1844.

At a political rally and barbecue staged at Ninety-Six in 1856, it was estimated that ten thousand Carolinians were present to hear addresses by Preston S. Brooks of Edgefield, Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia and other notables. Six tables of about 200 feet in length supported ten thousand pounds of barbecued beef, pork and mutton.[53]

Beneficence marked the Christmas season, a time of leisure and enjoyment for everyone, including the slaves. "We are in the midst of the Christmas vacation," wrote Thomas G. Clemson to Calhoun. "The hands recommence work on Wednesday next. Considering the work to be done, four days is rather much, but Mr. Fredericks [the overseer] said it was customary to give that time and it was given."[54] On large establishments it was customary to give presents, such as handkerchiefs and articles of clothing, to the servants. Extra rations and eggnog[55] were also dispensed to deserving menials, who received them with becoming and profuse thanks.[56] The records of Mulberry Plantation contain this statement: "Christmas Day, gave people extra allowance of rice and molasses—also killed a beef for them."[57]

On the smaller establishments Christmas was observed less ostentatiously. Occasionally there was some fretting because of the period of idleness and frivolity. While feeling splenetic, David G. Harris on December 28, 1856, opened his journal and wrote: "This is Christmas and a dull Christmas it is. I think that Christmas has almost gone out of vogue and I am glad of it—the negroes or most of them gone on a frolic and no one to do anything."[58]

During the Christmas holidays, which in some quarters lasted until January 2nd, there was a general cessation of labor, much visiting, eating and drinking and exchange of gifts. Concerning the tidewater in 1818, W. Thacher wrote: "Christmas and New Year's are here accounted the greatest days in the year and all seek amusement and quit business on those days."[59] Scattered

[53] *Courier*, Oct. 7, 1856.

[54] Calhoun Correspondence, R. P. Brooks and C. S. Boucher, eds., Annual *Report* of the American Historical Association, 1929, p. 158.

[55] A nourishing, palatable, somewhat exhilarating drink, compounded of beaten eggs, milk and whiskey, and spiced with nutmeg.

[56] Gilman, Caroline, *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, pp. 150 ff.

[57] Plantation Journal of John W. Milliken of Mulberry Plantation, Dec. 25, 1854.

[58] Harris Journal, Dec. 28, 1856. [59] Thacher Diary, Jan. 1, 1818.

families assembled under the parental roof for the Christmas dinner, gentlemen organized hunting parties and youths engaged in frolics.

Tournaments and gander-pullings were fairly popular equestrian pastimes. At a gander-pulling, the gander, with his neck greased and divested of all but his wing feathers, was suspended above a race track. Riders at full speed passed beneath and attempted to seize the greased neck. He who succeeded in pulling the head off the squirming gander was pronounced the victor.[60] At the tournaments, which were confined largely to the Low-Country, handsomely mounted young men impersonated medieval knights. Riding at full gallop, each knight in turn attempted to catch with outstretched lance as many rings as possible from three racks suspended above the course. The winner of the finals was privileged to crown the queen of love and beauty.[61] At a tournament held at Pineville, April 23, 1851, some thirty men richly mounted and bearing the names of fictitious knights participated. All the trappings of medieval heraldry were on display. The procession of knights, headed by a bugler, closely followed by heralds, the king-at-arms and the master-of-horse, filed into the arena to receive the applause of the spectators in the pavilion. The brilliant procession passed in review the pavilion and the judges' stand and wheeled back to the pavilion, where the knights saluted the gallery with lowered lances. The heralds announced each knight by title as each in turn prepared to ride full speed down the course with outstretched lance. After all participants had had six trials at the ring, the heralds appeared before the judges to hear their decision. When the victor in the tilting was apprised of his honor, he rode before his lady, lowered his lance and crowned her "Queen of Love and Beauty." The climax of the occasion was reached in the evening, when the knights and ladies assembled for the tournament ball and banquet "where those who lost in the tilting might win in the fatal game of hearts."[62]

Cockfighting, somewhat in disrepute, was patronized largely by the gambling profession. In the pits the game birds, equipped

[60] Sumter, Thomas S., *Stateburg and Its People*, p. 16.

[61] Boddie, W. W., *History of Williamsburg County*, p. 307. Tournaments are now being revived in the Low-Country.

[62] A full account of this tournament was carried by the Charleston *Mercury*, May 12, 1851.

with artificial spurs, fought to the death while interested spectators breathlessly wagered their cash upon the battling cocks.

Hunting was a universal sport in ante-bellum times. Gentlemen organized hunting clubs and kept hounds, horns and horses for deer and fox hunting. Ducks and wild turkeys were plentiful; and, as there was no bag limit, the number taken on a single hunt was generally ample to provide turkey or duck dinners for several families. Huntsmen liked to recount their exploits and to display their trophies. The hunter who missed a shot at a deer had his shirt-tail cut off, while he who killed his first deer was smeared with the blood of the kill.

Dancing was a popular diversion with rich and poor. Classed as a worldly amusement, it came under the condemnation of the strict religious sects; but, despite the opposition of religious bodies, the dance was patronized publicly and privately in practically every community in the State. Dancing schools were conducted in Charleston, Columbia, Greenville and other important urban centers by dancing masters who agreed to acquaint their pupils with the latest and most fashionable steps. French dances and dancing masters were highly prized and generously patronized. The plain people danced the reels, quadrilles and walked for the cake without formal instruction—and, it is said, without sin if the legs were not crossed. In fashionable circles, however, dancing was an art which only the initiated could enjoy. The different movements incident to the formal dances, some of which like the Lancers required special music, called for close attention to movement and position. A favorite dance in the 'forties and 'fifties was the cotillion. At a ball in the mountains, near the foot of Table Rock (Pumpkintown) "Cotillion followed reel and reel cotillion."[63] Other dances in favor were the polka, schottische, waltz and galop. At a St. Cecilia Ball in Charleston in 1852, "sedate cotillion, erratic polka, mystic schottische, and soul-enthralling waltz had each in turn due homage paid." "The polka," commented the correspondent, "is undoubtedly a favorite dance, but the schottische threatens to oust its rival and reign supreme."[64]

Public balls received extensive write-ups in the newspapers; but private balls and dances were considered too personal to be paraded in the public prints. Apropos of this attitude, Dr. John Irving wrote for *The Rambler:*

[63] *Mountaineer,* Sept. 15, 1848. [64] *Courier,* Jan. 24, 1852.

Much disappointment was expressed by many of our subscribers at not finding in our columns on Tuesday last a description of a beautiful fancy ball, a most *recherche* affair, which recently took place in the mansion of one of our distinguished fellow-citizens, and which created for many days the most marked and agreeable excitement in our circles of fashion. It is proper to explain that after preparing a detail of the magnificent spectacle—we were advised not to publish it lest we should encroach upon the privacy of private life and make that public which was got up only as a private entertainment.[65]

Dances were given most frequently in the fall and winter, although summer dancing was by no means uncommon. At Pineville in St. John's Berkeley, the dancing season began in September and, as a rule, two or three dances a week were given in rotation by the families resident there.[66] In the early decades of the nineteenth century, families of social prominence in Charleston gave at least one ball a year, in addition to dinner and carpet dances.[67] Young married couples, and even elderly people, participated freely in the dances until puritanical ideals, a backwash of the frontier, consigned matrons to domestic seclusion. The invasion of Charleston by the puritanical spirit is well attested.[68] A contributor to the *Southern Quarterly Review* noted that the puritanical spirit in Charleston not only kept matrons away from balls, but also disposed those touched by it "to the vulgar pursuit of money" to the exclusion of culture and liberality of mind and spirit.[69]

Notwithstanding the rising tide of puritanism, greatly augmented by the growth of Methodism, dancing both in and out of Charleston continued to enlist the interest of young people. Robert T. Means of Charleston wrote in February, 1855:

I have heard of nothing but balls, parties, and racing for the last three weeks—that is when I am out on the street, but when I am down at the counting house, I hear and see nothing but cotton.[70]

[65] *Rambler,* Mar. 14, 1844.

[66] *Ravenel Records,* p. 108. [67] Ravenel, *op. cit.,* p. 394.

[68] See Fraser, *op. cit.,* pp. 106-108; Parrington, V. L., *Main Currents in American Thought,* II, 108-109.

[69] "American Literature and Charleston Society," in *Southern Quarterly Review,* VI, 406-410.

[70] Robert T. Means to "Dear Mary," Feb. 14, 1855. MS. in R. H. Smith Papers.

At Graniteville, when a grand ball was staged in 1851, the editor of the *Advertiser* remarked that "these merry meetings come off frequently in our flourishing village. But while girls are plenty beaux are rather scarce."[71]

By and large much more time was spent at work than at play. There was undoubtedly leisure for more visiting and entertaining, more indulgence in public dinners and in horse racing than at present; but withal some form of work for the upkeep of family and servants and for providing means for the enjoyment of leisure engaged the greater portion of the wakeful hours of the gentry. No planter could successfully shift the entire responsibility for the management of estates to an overseer; accordingly, the planter spent much more time in riding from field to field and from plantation to plantation than in the expensive pursuit of pleasure.

[71] Edgefield *Advertiser,* Mar. 13, 1851.

CHAPTER V

CRINOLINE

The agrarian society of the Old South sought to confine woman's sphere to the home and its adjuncts. This ideal was largely realized in the upbringing of young ladies in polite circles. After marriage, however, ladies generally discharged various duties associated with household and plantation management. For the performance of these duties most ladies were ill prepared. While the training of young ladies was directed towards making them attractive and accomplished, this training did not, as a rule, fit them for the exercise of practical judgment in the management of property. The fact that girls were exposed to natural philosophy, mineralogy, botany and geology in the seminaries[1] did perhaps contribute to versatility, but by no means equipped future wives of planters for the serious business of rearing children and managing slaves. Not all young ladies married planters, in which event the task of the mistress of the household was measurably lighter. Most gentlewomen of the South entertained in the home with ease and grace. The family was never too large and responsibilities never too weighty to preclude the rites of hospitality to friends and relatives. On this score women were initiated by years of observation and training.

Notwithstanding the fact that married women almost invariably plunged into a round of household management and sometimes into estate management, the propertied men of South Carolina in disposing of their estates by will seem to have proceeded on the assumption that single daughters were incapable of managing real property. In most instances where real and personal property were bequeathed to both sons and daughters, the sons received the real estate, while the daughters received Negroes, cash and other forms of portable wealth. George Oates, a Charleston merchant, willed to his two daughters $200 each; to his two sons, he willed his real property and the remainder of his personal

[1] Johnson, Thomas Cary, *Scientific Interests in the Old South*, p. 106.

property including his stock of goods.[2] J. Burwell Boykin, a wealthy planter of Camden, willed to his sons cash "to be laid out in the purchase of lands for himself, heirs and assigns." To each of his four daughters he willed his slaves in parcels of twenty without real estate.[3] William Rainey of Greenville District willed to his daughter Polly "a support off my lands during the time she may remain single." She was also to receive a cow and calf, bed and all the household and kitchen furniture on the condition that her conduct be above suspicion. In the event she acted improperly she was to be deprived of all support.[4] One may seriously question whether any son would have been willed property subject to similar conditions. Aaron Payne left property to his sons in fee simple, but designated in his will that his daughters should receive their property in trust.[5] Examples could be multiplied regarding the custom of giving to the sons the major share of the property, including the real estate. The English practice of primogeniture was probably, in part, responsible for this interesting distribution of property. However that may be, the men of South Carolina and, for that matter, the men of the South, were persuaded that single women were incapable of looking after real property; besides, in the case of daughters of wealthy families, there was always the prospect of marriage to a husband possessed of land and Negroes.

There was, of course, something in this pattern which flattered the male; something that called into play his protective instincts, causing him to feel a bit like a gallant knight sacredly guarding the honor of God's fairest creation. How shall we account for the dominant protective role of the male and the dependent role of the female in Southern society? This situation was not the result of a conscious, concerted effort on the part of the male to confine gentlewomen to the home and its accessories. It sprang from far more fundamental conditions and convictions—convictions honestly entertained by the male and passively accepted by the female—convictions rooted in the ancient world and transmitted with the sanction of Holy Writ, fortified and hallowed by universal experience.

Opinion was nearly universal to the effect that the female

[2] Will Book L, p. 237. Judge of Probate's Office, Charleston, S. C.
[3] Apt. 9, pkg. 259, Judge of Probate's Office, Camden, S. C.
[4] Will Book D, p. 82. Judge of Probate's Office, Greenville, S. C.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

possessed certain mental and physical qualities which unfitted her for a public career, but which eminently qualified her for dependent status in the home. Some of woman's most obvious mental and physical attributes were her excitability and enthusiasm, fortitude in submitting to privation and physical pain, her capriciousness, feebleness of muscle and her virtue. These attributes men admired but discounted. According to a contributor to the *Southern Quarterly Review* "woman as a sex is not and never has been learned—she has always been less remarkable for her talent and learning than for her tenderness and timidity."[6] He held, furthermore, that woman "is deficient in those great attributes of mind by which men rule the masses for evil or for good, which give the statesmen their influence in the Senate and the soldier his power on the field."[7] While a Southern gentleman would hesitate to say that woman was mentally inferior to man, he nevertheless tacitly recognized such a limitation. Man entertained great respect for woman's intuition, but thought her unfit for participation in great courses which call for wise decision and sound judgment in execution. One writer went so far as to assert that a man "of sense rarely finds a young lady qualified to discuss any subject beyond the last novel or the latest fashion."[8] Such a judgment was, of course, too sweeping; but it indicates something of the prevailing attitude which failed to take into account early marriage and limited educational opportunities as countervailing factors.

While it was not true, as Harriet Martineau asserted, that marriage "is the only object left open to women,"[9] it was undoubtedly the primary object, usually realized in early womanhood. Adam Hodgson noted that young ladies of the best families frequently married at sixteen or eighteen years of age and then retired from gay society.[10] Concerning Laurens District, Mills observed that marriages were early and generally prolific. "It is rare," he wrote, "to find a woman of the age of twenty-five who is not either a widow or a wife."[11]

Although young ladies of quality were closely chaperoned by their elders, there were numerous occasions for young people to

[6] *Southern Quarterly Review,* X, 148-173.
[7] *Ibid.* This view of woman's sphere was not confined to the South.
[8] *Southern Literary Messenger,* Sept., 1858.
[9] Martineau, Harriet, *Society in America,* II, 228.
[10] Hodgson, Adam, *Remarks during a Journey through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, 1821,* p. 120. [11] Mills, Robert, *Statistics,* p. 607.

form acquaintances which led to subsequent formal calls, courtship and marriage. Young ladies in the Allston family[12] were not allowed to receive young men without being chaperoned; neither were they allowed to go riding alone with young men prior to a marriage engagement. Only flowers were received as presents from admirers, except during race week in Charleston, when gloves and French sugar plums were accepted.[13] Customarily, a young man who had met a young lady at a ball or party and who wished to call, was expected to obtain permission of her parents to pay his respects. While the young man was paying his first formal calls, the chaperon did not always remain in the room; but, nevertheless, contrived to make the young couple aware of her presence by appearing unannounced. If perchance the caller was not familiar with the family custom of retiring at ten P.M. and showed a disposition to tarry beyond the bedtime hour, the young lady would be notified quite audibly by the chaperon that she must dismiss her admirer. If, in the course of time, the young lady continued to find the young gentleman's attentions agreeable, she would ordinarily do him the honor of accepting his offer of marriage subject to the consent of her parents or guardians. Then came an embarrassing moment. No young man of recognized social standing could honorably escape the obligation of requesting in person the hand of his promised bride in marriage. The fact, however, that her parents had permitted him to call repeatedly was usually taken as an earnest of parental consent to the union. We may be sure, however, that in many instances, young lovers found ways to circumvent conventions and to carry on a love affair clandestinely. In fact, the formal manner prescribed for courtship placed a premium on the smuggling of letters and on the secret exchange of confidences.

Intimate records of courtships are rare, and those available leave much to the imagination. The following account of the courtship and marriage of Judge T. N. D— as related by his wife is so frank and disarming as to merit attention at this point.

> Early in May, at a party Col. D— asked me if I would be his wife. I was so overcome that I could not reply, and seeing my embarrassment with persons coming and going asked me if he might call the next afternoon. I was a teacher and had only the late afternoons. I bowed and he led me back to the drawing

[12] Family of Gov. R. F. W. Allston of Chicora Wood.
[13] Ingle, Edward, *Southern Sidelights,* p. 146.

room. That night was a memorable one. I wept much, but could not get my consent to accept. I was alone in the world—father dead—mother married again. No one to refer to and utterly unwilling to enter any family unwelcomed. My decision was to let well enough alone.

The next afternoon Col. D— called. I suppose seeing my embarrassment he asked me to sing. I sang I Dreamed that I Dwelt in Marble Halls—a pause—formidable! Col. D— said, "Have you thought of the question I asked you last evening?" A slight hesitation and I steadying my voice replied, "Yes, my decision is that things had better remain as they are."

He had been sitting near me by the piano when he quietly drew back saying, "Then you are unwilling to trust your happiness to my keeping." Unthoughtedly I turned to him saying, "No I entirely trust you." Then he rose from his seat, took my hand and led me to a sofa saying, "Now we can discuss this important subject." He was so gentle and kind that he soon drew from me all my difficulties, smiling at them. He brought to see me his sister, his brothers, and even his sister-in-law. It was a happy marriage and I thank God for my good noble husband.[14]

In all the affairs of the heart, there seems to have been much more formality than at present. Even the love letters, while extremely effusive, reflect a formality which today would be interpreted as indicating a lack of sincerity. For example, this excerpt from a letter written by H. B. L.— to Miss M—

Your presence sheds over me a feeling of intense pleasure which I feel at no other time. Frank H— seems at present to be chiefly in your good graces, still I can't help but think that I am more deserving of your best regards than he. I know, however, that you must judge for yourself. I feel that no one in the world besides me could feel towards you as I do—I long from day to day for thy sweet presence. I love to converse with you for thy words seem to glide forth as the sweet notes of the harp and they penetrate to my very soul.[15]

The tender sentiment of the beau sometimes found expression in verse inscribed in the family album. These effusions were unsigned, but those to whom they were dedicated experienced little difficulty in identifying the author. A fair sample are these lines from an old album inscribed to Miss Minnie:

When the praise thou meetest
To thine ear is sweetest
Oh, then remember me.

[14] MS. in private possession.

[15] MS. in private possession.

Other arms may press thee
Dearer friends caress thee
All the joys that bless thee
Sweeter far may be;
But when friends are nearest
And when joys are dearest
Oh, then remember me.

Preliminary to a marriage, a marriage settlement was sometimes effected in order to protect the property rights of the bride. Such an arrangement might permit the husband to share the income from the wife's property, but effectually prevented its transmission to the husband's relatives. In 1828, for example, Richard Cunningham settled upon Mary Miller, who was shortly to become the bride of Alexander Fraser, the sum of $4,000 in trust. Alexander Fraser could never touch the principal sum, but was permitted to share in the enjoyment of the income therefrom.[16]

Marriages among the gentry in South Carolina were celebrated either in the church or in the home. It appears that guests were invited by personal notes or by cards. Elaborately engraved invitations had not made their appearance. Whether the marriage should be simple and private or formal and elaborate depended upon the tastes and circumstances of the contracting parties. The procedure commonly observed in home weddings was to have the ceremony performed in the presence of relatives and a few friends, after which the invited guests arrived in festive mood[17] to view the presents, extend congratulations and to share in the wedding supper, prepared with great care and labor. The wedding cake, occupying a conspicuous place on the table, was cut by the bride amid much raillery and bibulous jests. After the wedding supper, a dance was staged which lasted far into the night. There were, of course, many variations of this procedure. Marriage vows taken hastily before justices of the peace could scarcely be called weddings; but when the stage was prepared for a decorative celebration the supper and dance were almost invariably mentioned as "the crowning events" of the occasion.[18]

Detailed descriptions of weddings are difficult to obtain for the

[16] MS. in possession of Miss Belle Neyle, Walterboro, S. C.

[17] Wedding festivity induced by the free use of the bottle is aptly described in Moore, Maurice, *Reminiscences of York*, p. 16.

[18] The author has been unable to obtain a good account of a church wedding.

reason that the newspapers refrained from publishing extended accounts of what was considered to be a strictly private affair. There was a saying in the Low-Country that a lady's name should appear in the paper only twice: once when she married (a brief notice) and again when she died. Such sketchy accounts of weddings as are available, therefore, must be gleaned from old letters. The following fragmentary accounts of weddings will serve at least to convey a general impression of the usual procedure.

The union of Major Blackwood and Miss Gibbs took place last Wednesday evening at six o'clock in the presence of a few friends. The company assembled at seven and an elegant party and supper were given—dancing was kept up until 2 o'clock. J— says the Baptist girls tipped it merrily. Caroline's dress is said to have been extremely neat and elegant. She was thought to be the handsomest woman in the room.[19]

"I am to be married on Thursday evening," wrote Cousin Lavinia. "Ma is going to have a private wedding, the family and a few intimate friends. As for my part, I would rather go to church. I would send you a cake by Cousin E—, but they are not done."[20] Bridesmaids and groomsmen shared the spotlight with the bride and groom. "Tell Cousin Heron," wrote Mrs. Hattie Means, "Johnnie is to be married on the first day of September so she will not be at the wedding. Cousin Edward and Cousin Beverly are both invited to wait on Cousin Johnnie. Cousin Beverly is to wait with Miss Janie. Cousin Emma is to be a bridesmaid."[21] At the wedding of Ellen Barker to Mr. Porcher, Clara declined to serve as bridesmaid because, as she expressed it, "I think it would be very imprudent in me to change from a thick to a thin dress so early in the season."[22]

Because of the fatigue and inconvenience incident to travel and because custom had not yet so decreed, newly-weds did not as a rule spend the honeymoon in distant places. After the wedding of Ellen Barker and Mr. Porcher, the couple retired immediately to a farm six miles distant which was to serve as their future home.[23] When, however, a couple fared forth as did

[19] S. S. F— to M. F—, Jan. 6, 1823. Baptist Historical Collection.
[20] "Cousin Lavinia" to Mrs. C. S—, Jan. 6, 1840. R. H. Smith Papers.
[21] Miss Hattie Means to her sister, Aug. 10, 1859. *Ibid.*
[22] Clara — to Mrs. Thomas C. Means, Mar. 20, 1855. *Ibid.*
[23] When newly-weds moved immediately from the wedding to their perma-

Christopher Oeland and his bride from Charleston to a country seat near Greenville, the honeymoon was liable to be punctuated by accidents and consequent delays. For example, when Mr. and Mrs. Oeland undertook to make the journey from Greenville to Charleston, the buggy in which they were traveling collapsed, and at some point between Newberry and Charleston the baggage slipped off the conveyance when a wheel "disengaged itself from the axle to the danger of breaking a limb." This accident of the road forced the couple to spend the night in a dirty tavern crowded with travelers, much to the chagrin of the bride who, "being rather dainty about beds could not enjoy the rest."[24] After such a trying experience, the newly-weds were doubtless glad to settle in their Charleston home and to reflect on the privations incident to a rash adventure.

Notwithstanding the fact that marriage was a solemn and impressive rite from which there was no legal escape in South Carolina,[25] there is evidence that the marriage tie rested rather lightly on some low-grade individuals. Jacob Schirmir noted with much disgust that "during the last week several occurrences took place showing the depravity of human nature. Two or three and some days four elopements have taken place between men and women and either one or the other of them are married."[26]

For the most part, however, those joined in the holy bonds of matrimony remained faithful to the wedded state. The wife, as a rule, was early burdened with children and household duties, having little time or inclination for clandestine flirtations. A childless wife, according to Mrs. Chesnut, was held in contempt.[27] A woman could best justify her place in the social order by being fruitful, faithful and domestic. Married women must not be unmindful of their duty in the fulfillment of their biological destiny even at the cost of a loss of personal beauty and romance. There was compensation in the consolations of religion and in the love of children. The following excerpt from a letter written by a harassed matron conveys some idea of the trials of married life:

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nent home, they were followed generally by a gay cavalcade of well-wishers. *Ibid.*

[24] Christopher Oeland to E. P. S—, July 30, 1848. *Ibid.*

[25] Divorce was granted in South Carolina in 1868 and for ten years thereafter.

[26] Schirmir Journal, Apr. 29, 1845.

[27] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie,* p. 141.

I was quite sick in bed on Christmas day from over-exertion. I had a threat of miscarriage. I am out of bed again, but I have been compelled to keep quiet. I have not been down in the parlour but once since Christmas day. I am however feeling a great deal better, though my health is not by any means good. I think if I had you with me to assist me in housekeeping and with the care of the children I would get well.[28]

One should not get the impression that all married women were invalids. Fortunately, the majority were physically able to endure the travail of periodic childbirth and the exacting routine of household and occasional plantation duties. What husband could endure a waltzing, novel-reading wife? In fashionable life at White Sulphur Springs and in Charleston matrons waltzed under the disapproving gaze of their husbands; but such "carryings-on" encountered the severest strictures from provincial editors.[29] A picture of a good housewife, one who was a real asset to her husband, was provided by Samuel A. Townes of Abbeville:

Her house is always neat and her servants always active and busy or she is always scolding or whipping them, for she does not hesitate for a moment to whip her grown negroes when they deserve it. She has scarcely more servants than are necessary to do her house business and yet she has had cotton enough spun since Lucretia was down to make nineteen and one half yards. She has made a quilt since I came down which I have seen her sew on for an hour or more with the child in her arms. I have also seen her nurse and reel at the same time. I mention these things to show you on what grounds I prenounce her a first rate housekeeper.[30]

In addition to supervising a corps of servants and entertaining extensively, the mistress of the estate must serve as nurse and physician in case of illness in the family or among the domestics. Caroline Gilman, brought up on an ante-bellum plantation, observed that the mistress "is obliged to listen to cases of grievances, is a nurse to the sick, distributes the half-yearly clothing—cuts homespun suits for her family and her negroes."[31] The matron who would ring a bell to have a hankerchief brought to her

[28] MS. in R. H. Smith Papers.
[29] See *Courier,* Aug. 29, 1857; Mar. 18, 1853.
[30] Sam A. Townes to Rachel Townes, Mar. 9, 1829. Townes Correspondence.
[31] Gilman, Caroline, *Recollections of a Southern Matron,* p. 47.

"will act the part of a surgeon or physician with a promptitude and skill which would excite astonishment in a stranger."[32]

In the absence of the master and of the overseer, the mistress would undertake to supervise both farm and household. While her husband was away and the overseer sick, Mrs. Lettice Jenkins of Edisto Island grappled bravely with the business of the farm. "You will say that it is poorly done," she opined, "but I do the best I can. Sometimes I sit for hours on my horse in the fields. They [the Negroes] work well when I am there, but will be lazy when I am away. I am very tired of it and sincerely hope my husband will be home in two or three weeks."[33]

One can imagine the satisfaction experienced by the mistress when, after months and perhaps years of instruction, she trained a competent seamstress or a good cook. Once a mistress discovered among her domestics a young wench deft in manipulation and withal teachable, she would give her a course in sewing, cooking or laundering leading to a degree of proficiency where a minimum of supervision was necessary. "We intend trying to make a cook of Lucy," wrote a resident of Walterborough. Then she added with obvious satisfaction, "you ought to see my little seamstress, Mary. She hems good enough to hem my apron strings and is now hemming the sleeves and back of Julie's calico dress.—She does not sew more than an hour or two every day and never unwillingly."[34]

Enmeshed in the toils of domesticity, wives gradually neglected the attainments of maidenhood which won for them the encomiums of the opposite sex. Time was lacking for exercises on the piano or for developing technique in painting landscapes. There were, of course, brief respites in visits, parties and perhaps a stay of considerable duration at the springs in summer; but one must always return to resume routine duties. Usually, when a lady married, she married an establishment and shared with her husband its superintendence. When to social and household duties was added the burden of rearing a family, the share of the mistress in the management of the establishment was measurably greater than that of the master. It was comparatively easy for him to get away at intervals for business trips, political gatherings and muster,

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[33] Mrs. Lettice Jenkins to her sister, July 21, 1835. Jenkins MSS.
[34] Letter addressed to Mrs. C. C. Jenkins, July 14, 1858. Jenkins MSS.

leaving the overseer in charge; but there was, as a rule, no one who could relieve the mistress. There was much for reflection in the statement of a correspondent of the *Hamburg Republican*, who declared that "no lazy girl should think of getting married."[35]

There was no outcry when a lady undertook in an emergency to manage a gang of field hands, but there was neither time nor place for women to share in the game of politics. Women frequently graced political assemblies as spectators to be toasted as the ornaments of society, but rarely held political opinions at variance with those of their husbands. Apropos of this attitude, Mrs. Martha Gourdin deSaussure wrote: "I know nothing of the original merits of the controversy—as a woman political questions are beyond my judgment."[36] Benjamin F. Perry was of the opinion that many ladies manifested more interest in politics than they cared to admit. "Ladies," observed Perry, "always appear to know nothing of politics and say they take no interest in such matters, but I have often found that they know a great deal and that they felt a deep interest in the daily occurrence of the times."[37]

Women were not standardized; all were not contented homemakers and gentle doves.[38] Young ladies had their heads filled with notions of beaus, balls and fashions. On reaching maturity they diverged more and more in individuality. A few achieved the rank of personages, brilliant in conversation and wise in counsel. Spinsters without income might resort to teaching, church work or fancy needlework.[39] Those with income might, in the language of an ancient lady, do nothing but "just live." Whatever the field of endeavor, women of the upper classes must refrain from infringing upon man's prerogatives.

The qualities a man prized in woman were modesty, charm, sympathy, industry and a capacity for understanding and extenuating the shortcomings of the male. Intelligence was an asset, but not too much intelligence. Women with ideas and independence of judgment were tolerated and sometimes esteemed so long

[35] Quoted in the *Edgefield Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1848.

[36] Martha Gourdin deSaussure to Gen. Wilmot G. deSaussure (no date). deSaussure Papers.

[37] Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother*, p. 13.

[38] On this point a series of articles in the *Courier* beginning Jan. 5, 1854, are of interest.

[39] Mrs. Mary S. Hall served as agent in Charleston for a Ladies' Depository which received all descriptions of needlework for distribution among members of the Society, *Courier*, Mar. 8, 1851.

as those ideas were not directed towards a radical change in the social order. When the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, of Charleston, developed a penchant for abolitionism they found it expedient to quit their native city for more congenial parts in the North.[40] Unsexed women in the North might agitate for woman's rights; but the true Southern lady, never. She knew her place and, as a rule, was mentally (not always practically) prepared for it.

The qualities a woman prized in man were courage, aggressiveness, chivalry, honor and intelligence. "There is nothing a woman so dreads," remarked Martha Gourdin deSaussure, "as to lose respect for the manhood around her, so sweet to trust, to look up to—we are willing to be second, but second only after the first. How would the women and men look each other in the face if the men failed or compromised!"[41] Mental parity was neither expected nor demanded. A woman liked to regard her husband as a person of superior intelligence and to abide by his decisions in all matters pertaining to the public weal. Such a relationship made for the stability of the home and for the perpetuation of a solid social front against the agitators for woman's rights.

It is doubtful whether the weaker sex exercised any powerful absentee restraint upon the conduct of the male. It is true that a gentleman perceptibly softened in the presence of a lady,[42] he was careful not to offend her sense of the proprieties, he was all attention and courtesy in mixed company; but in the exclusive society of men, the average male presented another front. He could then engage in strictly masculine diversions, such as the telling of racy stories, drinking, swearing or perhaps gaming. Of course, all gentlemen, so called, did not avail themselves of this privilege; but the fact is that a gentleman's conduct on the muster ground, as a rule, diverged sharply from his conduct in the presence of ladies. Women were brought up to expect and to condone indulgences of men which they did not necessarily approve.[43]

[40] Jones, Dudley F., "The Grimke Sisters," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1933), pp. 12-21.

[41] Martha Gourdin deSaussure to her husband (no date). Letter written on the eve of secession. deSaussure Papers.

[42] See Malet, W. W., *An Errand to the South*, p. 111.

[43] Tyrone Power, a distinguished Irish actor, noted that the young ladies of Charleston did not appear to exert much influence on the opposite sex. Power, Tyrone, *Impressions of America*, II, 101.

It was generally conceded that the very nature of the beast militated against a single-standard of morality before marriage. After marriage, gentlemen were usually monogamous; but otherwise their pre-marital habits might or might not undergo appreciable change. For individual cases no rule will hold. In the main, however, it appears that marriage did not effect any widespread reformation of husbands outside the field of sexual relations.

Let us have done with imponderables and consider briefly the whims and caprices of Dame Fashion. The styles for any year can best be ascertained by recourse to *Godey's Lady's Book* which appeared for the first time in 1837. In general, we note a change from the Colonial hoop to the straight skirts of the early Republic, then a swing back to an ever-widening hoop, culminating in the hoop-skirt of the 'fifties.[44] Fashion dictated, in the main, greater variation in latitude than in longitude, a tendency to fullness of sleeve and skirt and tight lacing about the waist and bosom. Concerning the fashions for women in 1823, Christopher Jenkins of Edisto Island wrote his wife from New York:

As regards the frock, I think you would not be pleased with the fashions here. It is true the pleats in front may do very well, particularly for a mother who is often in a family way, but from the upper parts of the hips down they are made so scant that a lady's figure is shown more distinctly than decency warrants. In addition to that the upper part is so tight that the bosom is so much compressed as to destroy the bust, giving them in that particular part the appearance of a girl twelve years old. This may do very well for the New York ladies almost all of whom are about the bosom as flat as a jonney cake—Our Southern ladies whose bosoms and hips are almost invariably of a good size who so far from stooping are remarkably upright. I cannot think it will suit, for I certainly think a fine bust and good hips give always to the possessor a dignified, majestic appearance, without which a full grown lady is not very interesting.[45]

The slenderizing style of dress to which Jenkins objected gradually gave way to greater fullness of sleeve and to greater length and fullness of skirt, especially at the bottom. The waistline remained slim.[46] A Northern lady, who attended a fashionable gathering in Charleston in 1832, complained that she could not

[44] The hoop-skirt was introduced in 1853. See Cole, A. C., *The Irrepressible Conflict*, p. 165.

[45] Christopher Jenkins to his wife, Sept. 25, 1823. Jenkins MSS.

[46] *Godey's Lady's Book*, XIX, 240.

get a good view of the speaker of the occasion because "when I looked up their enormous hats obstructed the view, when I stooped their enormous sleeves again came in contact with my vision."[47]

As to head gear, we hear much of leghorn bonnets in the 'twenties and 'thirties. In fact, bonnets of some kind were fashionable throughout the ante-bellum period. The Martha Washington bonnets popular in 1839 were described as "drawn bonnets of shot silk—a round brim descending very low under the chin and ornamented with roses at the sides of the face, ribands to correspond, and a sprig of roses to ornament the crown."[48] The fashion plates for 1848[49] show the bonnets fastened under the chins with ribbons. The bodices and waists were always tight-fitting, the skirts were extremely full, sometimes flounced and sometimes plaited. The sleeves, which were half large in 1829, had now become generally full, or bell-shaped. By 1851, however, we find the editor of the *Edgefield Advertiser* deploring the fact that the skirts were short and the pantalettes long—visible "to the naked eye nearly as high up as the knee."[50] This fad was shortly to give way to the long hoop-skirt held in the shape of a barrel by whalebones and wire frames.[51] Hoop-skirts became exceedingly popular and were in evidence on all dress occasions. "As it was, with parasols above and elastic expansors below, the dear ladies occupied a large space in the public eye."[52] "Have you bought new hoops?" inquired Mrs. C. H. Means of her schoolgirl daughter. "If not wait until you collect Andrew's wages for March and pay the cash at Walkers for a pair like M's—. She also bought a pair there for Mary, the nicest I ever saw, price four dollars."[53]

Formal evening dress in the 'fifties featured full short sleeves, tight bodice and bouffant skirt. The ensemble revealed neck and shoulders, but effectually covered the rest of the body down to the dainty slippers. A bit of verse in *The Rambler* aptly describes the popular conception of evening dress in the 'forties.

[47] *Courier*, Feb. 24, 1832.
[48] *Godey's Lady's Book*, XIX, 240.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Edgefield Advertiser*, June 26, 1851.
[51] Hoop-skirts were in style until after the War for Southern Independence.
[52] *Courier*, May 30, 1857.
[53] Mrs. C. H. Means to her daughter, Apr. 11, 1859. R. H. Smith Papers.

When dressed for the evening, the girls nowadays,
Scarce an atom of dress on them leave;
Nor blame them;—for what is an evening dress,
But a dress that is suited to Eve.[54]

The finest dresses were made of silks, muslins and brocades. Frocks, requiring usually five and one-half yards of cloth, were made of calico and cambric,[55] and aprons were made of ginghams. Hair nets, fine shawls and lace scarfs were usually in good taste and worn for both adornment and protection. Some idea of the needs of an unmarried lady in dress can be gathered from the account book of Loring Winn & Co. of Sumter. The account of Miss Margaret M. McCoy for the year 1861 shows that she purchased two merino undervests, twelve yards of homespun, nine yards of ginghams, three pairs of white hose, one head net, two packages of needles and one hoop-skirt.[56]

Styles in female attire were so changeable as to be positively bewildering to the male historian. All changes, however, were adroitly designed to preserve feminine charm and mystery so as to make the well-dressed lady an object of perennial interest to the discriminative gentleman.

[54] *The Rambler,* Feb. 3, 1844.
[55] Scott, E. J., *Recollections of a Long Life,* pp. 80-81.
[56] MS. in possession of Major Loring Lee, Sumter, S. C.

CHAPTER VI

HOMESPUN AND CALICO

The members of the middle class did not leave many written records to guide the historian in charting their way of life. About the only records left by the poor whites were those involuntarily deposited in the county courthouses as evidence of reprehensible conduct. The few records left, together with the observations of prejudiced and unprejudiced travelers and residents, are our main reliance for obtaining an understanding of the social habits and attitudes of the great middle class and the submerged poor whites.

Another difficulty encountered is that of delimiting the social bounds of the poor whites and of the middle class. There were middle-class planters and lawyers, and there were emergent poor whites struggling for recognition as members of the respectable middle class. Lands and Negroes did not make the gentleman; neither did a knowledge of the law entitle one *ipso facto* to a place on the social register. A middle-class planter was described by Hundley as being a little blunt in manner, very hospitable, indifferently educated, inclined to intolerance and, when religious, inclined to fanaticism. He looked after his own slaves, ate his own hominy and bacon and drank his own brandy.[1] Louis Manigault cites the case of a Mr. D— who kept a grog shop in Savannah for several years, made money by Negro trading and then purchased a plantation opposite Manigault's for four thousand dollars.[2] This man became a planter but not a gentleman. He had been tainted by his occupation. On the other hand, the case of Major James O'Hanlon as related by E. J. Scott presents a different angle. Here was a person who served an apprenticeship to the saddlers' trade in Philadelphia and who returned to Columbia, where he studied and practiced law. He subsequently became a

[1] Hundley, D. R., *Social Relations in Our Southern States,* p. 96.

[2] Record of The Conduct of a Rice Plantation on the Savannah River, kept by Louis Manigault. MS. in possession of Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.

member of the legislature and married a daughter of Col. David Myers, who gave him a valuable plantation and a number of Negroes.[3] This man undoubtedly received qualified recognition as a gentleman. As to his sons and daughters, there could hardly be a question mark.

The middle class in South Carolina, embracing more than half of the total white population, clearly included the independent farmers, merchants, small tradesmen, teachers, artisans and mechanics. To extend the list even to overseers would be invading debatable ground, as not all overseers bore the earmarks of respectability which entitled them to middle-class grading.[4] The artisans, mechanics and tradesmen were confined largely to the towns and Charleston; while the farmers, a larger group, were confined almost entirely to rural districts with a preponderance in the Up-Country. An examination of the Directory and Strangers' Guide of the City of Charleston for 1831 shows forty-odd trades followed by men and women of the middle class in the city.[5] Smaller urban centers like Georgetown and Columbia contained a smaller, but equally respectable, group of artisans, mechanics and tradesmen. All told, however, this group probably did not exceed 5 per cent of the total white population.

The large group of resident farmers, owning farms ranging in size from ten to two or three hundred acres, constituted the most stable and basic element of the population. This group was not so cohesive nor so class conscious as the planters and mechanics, but it imparted more stability to the social and political life of the State. Concerning the small-farmer group around Edgefield, J. C. Allen, assistant marshal for Edgefield District, wrote:

> Over two thousand farms, each of which produces to the annual value of $100 and upwards, many of them amounting to very large sums. Very many more of small farms, owned by merchants, mechanics, and poor persons and beginners.
>
> One hundred and ninety-eight establishments of productive industry, producing to the annual value of $5,000 and upwards. Also a great many small establishments worked by men whose interests and time are divided between farming and mechanical

[3] Scott, E. J., *Recollections of a Long Life*, p. 36.

[4] See Henry, H. M., *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, p. 22.

[5] *Directory and Strangers' Guide for the City of Charleston*, pp. 53 ff.

pursuits, viz.: they, or many of them, have small farms and when they lay by their crops they repair wagons, carts, and buggies.[6]

The prevalence of a network of small farms and farmers was especially characteristic of the Upper Districts, where the plantation system never dwarfed the independence of the small proprietor.

Not all the small farmers owned the land they cultivated. Here and there one would encounter white renters, renting land for a stipulated portion of the crop produced on it. The Rev. Jno. McLees informs us that in 1838 "Mr. Elisha Copley moved into our cotton house as he has rented about twenty acres of land from father this year." McLees was to furnish horse and tools and Copley was to make the crop and give to McLees one half of the corn and one third of the cotton "which he makes on it."[7] While renters were not numerous, they existed in sufficient numbers to establish precedents for the widespread system of share cropping which developed after the War for Southern Independence.

The generality of the farmers were hospitable to individuals, neighborly, home-loving, dram-drinking, intolerant and barely literate. The wives of the farmers, as well as other women of the middle class were, as a rule, virtuous and chaste in speech and manners, plainly dressed, industrious and thrifty; but usually deficient in business judgment.[8] They were devoted to their families and to the church, and prided themselves on their achievements in the domestic arts. One cannot place all farmers in the same category. Much depended upon the locality and family tradition. Farmers in isolated communities were much more ignorant and backward than those who lived in proximity to the slow cross currents of Southern life. The Rev. W. W. Rollings, writing from Spring Hill, described his congregation as being very ignorant, with "no enterprise, no intelligence, no nothing that is great either political or religious. To be a Baptist in this country is almost to be nobody, but I hope for better days soon if the people don't go crazy about secession."[9]

The countryfolk around Darlington, many of whom owned no slaves, esteemed it an honor to be called "good livers," which

[6] *Edgefield Advertiser,* Apr. 3, 1851.

[7] McLees Diary, Mar. 21, 1838. Another instance of renting land is found in the R. H. Smith Papers. [8] Hundley, *op. cit.,* p. 98.

[9] W. W. Rollings to J. S. Mims, Aug. 9, 1851. Baptist Historical Collection.

meant plenty of wholesome food on the table.[10] Most farmers were faithful attendants at church on Sunday and during revivals; but church membership was by no means universal. Many farmers visited grog shops and taverns far more regularly than they attended church. During the week, the season and the weather being favorable, farmers spent most of their time in the fields working with or without slaves; and at night they retired early to bed unless perchance, lured by the prospect of catching an opossum or by a convivial gathering at a neighbor's house, they burned the candle somewhat later than was customary.

While the lives of most countryfolk were ordered by manual labor and family cares, they found time for attending muster, picnics, singing, camp meetings, quiltings and huntings. Alfred Taylor, of Taylors, a substantial citizen of the middle class, kept a diary in which he recorded what he regarded as the most important events of his day-to-day existence. Items gathered at random from the diary for the fall of 1855 show that he went to a picnic, attended muster, church and Sunday School, visited friends and relatives, attended a singing school for three days in succession, visited Greenville occasionally on business, hunted and "knocked about paterolling."[11]

Mutual assistance as practiced among farmers proved to be one of the strongest ties of community life. Neighbors were ever ready to help one another at log-rollings, house-raisings, corn-huskings and at the wheat harvest. For example, when a farmer had assembled the materials for raising a log house, his neighbors readily gathered to give free a day's labor in the erection of the structure. The only extra expense to devolve upon the owner was the preparation of a large dinner for consumption by the company.[12]

The plain man's recreation was generally inexpensive, sometimes crude, and frequently involved a test of strength or skill. Concerning the Newberry District, the common people for amusement met at some liquor store to play cards, pitch dollars and to shoot at targets.[13] At the shooting matches and dancing frolics, "the friendly half-pint" was on hand; and if a fight occurred, the

[10] Brunson, W. A., *Glimpses of Old Darlington,* p. 10.

[11] Diary of Alfred Taylor, Sept. to Dec., 1855. MS. in possession of A. G. Taylor, Taylors, S. C.

[12] Brunson, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[13] O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry,* p. 539.

issue was usually determined without resort to deadly weapons. On sales day and election day liquor flowed freely, while horses were traded and local "bullies" inflamed by drink furnished excitement by rolling on the ground in violent physical combat. After returning from election at Lowndesville, the Rev. Jno. McLees wrote: "Election at Lowndesville for senator. Several men drunk —fought and acted worse than I have ever seen men act. One of them rose upon Mr. Young in his store."[14]

Certain games of chance played with cards or dice invited betting, especially at stores and taverns where ardent spirits were sold. Gambling was said to be in evidence in the streets, highways, woods and racefields where it was attended by quarrels, controversies and the corruption of youth. Noting this deplorable state of affairs, the General Assembly in 1816 declared all games with cards, dice, ABC or EO figures, roly-poly table, faro bank (except billiards, bowls, backgammon, chess, draughts or whist where there was no betting on the game) to be unlawful.[15] The ordinances of Charleston reaffirmed and strengthened these prohibitions, but lovers of games of chance found clever ways by which to circumvent the law. The gambling fraternity was irrepressible.

Circuses, traveling menageries, puppet shows, agricultural fairs, singings and hangings never failed to attract curious spectators avid for entertainment.

The circus with all of its empedimenta moved slowly from town to town and, like the present-day carnival, gave daily performances for a week at one site. So starved were the plain people for entertainment that they would drive or walk for miles to witness the feats of horsemanship, to hear the comic songs and recitations and to blush at the broad jokes of the circus clowns. The fact that some portion of the program catered to crude and vulgar tastes caused pious people to shun the circus as a degrading spectacle. In order to counteract this attitude, showmen would advertise the moral aspects of the circus by stressing the value of the zoological exhibition. For example, Raymond and Waring, in advertising their zoological exhibition for the people of Greenville in September, 1848, stressed the point that the exhibition served to entertain and instruct all "in the wondrous works of the

[14] McLees Diary, Oct. 4, 1839. [15] Statutes at Large, VI, 27.

Supreme Being and is particularly impressive on the minds of youth."[16]

"Singings," or all-day song services led by some master, armed with a tuning fork, were very popular with countryfolk; but the event which attracted the largest crowd and the most intense interest was a hanging. It was estimated that five thousand people witnessed the hanging of a Negress in Newberry in 1859.[17] One individual walked sixteen miles "in the broiling sun" to witness the gruesome spectacle. At the hangings the hushed thousands standing in the area around the scaffold listened breathlessly to the last words of the victim and often repeated them in song and story.

At Abbeville in 1836 a man about to be hanged spoke feelingly of his wife:

> I haven't treated my wife right and she is one of the best women God ever made and has been a mighty good wife to me. I will say on my dying bed this much for her. She will make any of you a mighty good wife and I hope some of you will find it convenient to take her for she is a good woman and handy and no mistake.[18]

Members of the middle class entertained great respect for property rights and were quick to resent any encroachment upon personal rights and possessions. Indeed, it appears that most prolific sources of litigation among the commonality were assault and battery of the person and the theft of property. Crimes against the person resulted all too frequently from overindulgence in strong drink; crimes against property, on the contrary, usually resulted from sheer moral depravity. Notwithstanding the respect accorded property rights by the average citizen, infractions of these rights by base and lawless people were common. The existence of a criminal element in virtually every community is attested by the endless prosecution of offenders in the courts. Benjamin F. Perry, an able criminal lawyer, was repeatedly prosecuting or defending people for fighting and stealing. From Pickens C. H. in the late 'thirties he wrote his wife: "I spent Monday defending a man for fighting and another for stealing a hog—Tuesday was all day in defending a man charged with stealing a cow."[19]

[16] *Mountaineer,* Sept. 8, 1848.
[17] *The Rising Sun* (Newberry), July 20, 1859.
[18] Abbeville *Press and Banner,* July 26, 1876.
[19] Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother,* p. 61.

In the court of Commons Pleas and General Sessions at Greenville in October, 1835, the most important case was that of a man charged with stealing a horse. He was convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned until the first Monday in December next when he was to receive fifty lashes; then to be remanded to jail until the first Monday in January when he was to receive thirty-five additional lashes. At the same court two men were convicted of hog stealing, and as usual there were several cases of assault and battery.[20]

Another fruitful source of litigation was "bootlegging." In commenting on the business of the court in Greenville in April 1852 the editor of the local newspaper found some satisfaction in the fact that "the people of Greenville had done nothing worse for the last six months than fight a little and sell a few half pints of spirits without a license." Two old women were sentenced to one hundred days imprisonment for retailing spirits without a license.[21] "Bootleggers" were as resourceful in evading the law in antebellum times as in the recent prohibition era. An example of ingenious evasion came to the attention of the *Edgefield Advertiser* and was printed in detail.

> Liquor has been sold of late in the suburbs of Edgefield village in the shape of eggs. The dealer, it appears, has secured a number of egg shells nearly whole, they being only slightly punctured to let out the original contents. Through the same aperture whiskey was introduced and the egg then reclosed, how we are unable to state. Thus renewed in spirits the eggs went freely at a dollar per dozen.[22]

Much liquor was sold by and through slaves in flagrant violation of the law forbidding traffic with slaves. A correspondent of the *Charleston Courier* alleged that he had before him a certificate from a citizen sworn to before a magistrate, declaring that the citizen heard one of the city police officers make a demand for money from one of the shopkeepers and promised that if payments were made at stated intervals the police officers would not trouble him.[23]

In the absence of reliable statistics it is impossible to generalize as to the prevalence of homicide and other capital crimes, of which

[20] *Mountaineer,* Oct. 17, 1835. [21] *Southern Patriot,* Apr. 15, 1852.

[22] Reprint from the *Edgefield Advertiser* in the *Courier,* Feb. 24, 1855. Some allowance must be made for the propensity of storytellers for embroidering the story. [23] *Courier,* Sept. 1, 1852.

there were twenty-two in 1850.[24] That crime was all too prevalent is obvious; but, except when perpetrated by bands of runaway slaves, criminals appear to have operated singly or in very small groups within a limited area. Kidnappers confined their nefarious traffic to slaves, while swindlers generally limited their activity to lotteries and liquor.[25]

Of all the middle-class groups, the mechanics were probably the most class conscious. They maintained organizations for social and intellectual improvement in all the leading towns and in Charleston.[26] Mechanics, along with merchants, enjoyed respectability but not gentility. "If there is any man in society upon whom we look with esteem and admiration" remarked the editor of the *Rambler*, "it is the honest and industrious mechanic who by his unaided exertion has established for himself a respectable situation in society."[27] There is no available evidence that the mechanics of South Carolina were militant in agitation for specific reforms. They did, however, from time to time, voice mild complaints against social and political discrimination. For example, a mechanic in speaking for his class through the columns of the *Courier* alleged that the mechanics resented competition with cheap slave and free Negro artisans. The position of the mechanic, he noted, was "only better than the slave because he is entitled to vote and must give that sometimes for promise of a job."[28] The sturdy mechanics served in the militia and as members of the patrol. They were courted by the politicians in political campaigns and praised as patriots when states' rights were imperiled, but in the ordinary relations of society the mechanics were more useful than ornamental.

Overseers as a class sustained the reputation of being coarse, profane, sensual and improvident.[29] In the main, the indictment will hold, but there were many exceptions. Louis Manigault of Charleston in lamenting the death of his overseer, William Capers,

[24] Wallace, D. D., *History of South Carolina*, II, 467. Imprisonment for debt was gradually eased, but not finally abolished until 1868. *Ibid.*, II, 465.

[25] Private lotteries were prohibited under a fine not exceeding $10,000. Statutes at Large, XI, 368. Public lotteries were occasionally authorized by the General Assembly.

[26] *Mountaineer*, Sept. 7, 1838; Schirmir Journal, Nov. 23, 1849.

[27] *The Rambler*, Mar. 23, 1844. *Cf.* Hundley, D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[28] *Courier*, Aug. 30, 1832; *ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1832.

[29] Olmsted, F. L., *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 486.

testified that Capers was in some respects a remarkable man. "Mr. Capers belonged to the best blood of Carolina—He was a perfect gentleman, and I made more of a companion of him than merely regarding him as a simple overseer."[30]

As a rule, overseers were products of the non-propertied, non-slaveholding whites and were without social standing.[31] As Henry noted, the calling led to nothing[32] except frequent changes in employment. An overseer's tenure was precarious, depending upon his ability to produce bumper crops without unduly abusing the laborers. James H. Hammond employed six overseers from 1832 to 1839; two of them stayed two years and the others one year each.[33] J. R. Sparkman of Georgetown employed overseers on a contingent basis. In 1858, for example, Sparkman's overseer was to receive $200 a year for less than an average crop of rice or $240 for an average crop of 6,300 bushels.[34]

Something of the general attitude of planters towards overseers is revealed in the following entry in the diary of Major David Gavin of St. George:

> I am afraid my overseer Griffin and his wife will be a great pest to me. They have taken a ham of pork out of my smoke house already without my knowledge. His dogs are a pest and children not much better. Mrs. Griffin wants as much waiting on as the mistress of a plantation.[35]

There was much in the calling of an overseer to make one coarse and brutal. Daily contact with sensual and refractory Negroes was calculated to excite both lust and temper, and the infliction of corporal punishment tended to make the overseer indifferent to pain and alien to mercy. As a young man James Jenkins served as an overseer, but gave up the calling because "he increased in vice daily."[36] An overseer, in applying to his former employer for work, acknowledged his previous dereliction

[30] Record of a Rice Plantation, kept by Louis Manigault, Oct. 30, 1864.

[31] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Schaper, W. A., *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, p. 304.

[32] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[33] Hammond, James H., Plantation Book. Hammond Papers, Library of Congress.

[34] Plantation and Medical Journal of J. R. Sparkman, Georgetown, S. C. The record of Windsor kept by Dr. John Irving shows that overseers were employed at about $250 per year. Tenure was insecure.

[35] Diary of Major David Gavin, Feb. 24, 1859. MS. in possession of Mrs. Charles Gavin, St. George, S. C.

[36] Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings of James Jenkins*, p. 32.

in conduct, but promised to mend his ways in the future. "Should I once more be intrusted with management of your business" he wrote, "you will find me quite a different man, for I do assure you I have long since seen the ill effects of bad company."[37]

In the pinelands near the coast, in the sandhills of the upper coastal plain and in the "dark corners" of the Up-Country Districts, there existed a class of people known as poor whites or poor white trash[38] or in the language of the Gullah Negroes, "Po Buckra." As to the origin of this class, there are many theories. Hundley held that the poor whites were descendants of white indentured servants;[39] while Schaper,[40] Lieber[41] and Olmsted[42] attributed the submerged condition of the poor whites to large estates and slave labor—products of a social and economic squeeze. Avery Craven rightfully divides the poor whites of the Old South into two groups and ventures the opinion that the "element thrown to the bottom" was a victim of geographic environment and physical disability.[43] Speculation in the premises is interesting but largely futile. The fact remains, however, that there existed a class of improvident, ignorant, superstitious whites between whom and the planting gentry there was a wide social and economic gulf.

Within the ranks of the poor whites there was no common level. Some were degraded and shiftless while others, commonly referred to as the yeomanry, were generally moral, honest and law-abiding. Most of those identified with the yeomanry owned or rented small tracts of land on which they raised corn, vegetables and cattle for subsistence and fabricated baskets and quilts for ready money.[44] The meaner sort of poor whites possessed few redeeming qualities. Virtually all observers agree that they were apathetic, shiftless, ignorant, diseased and sometimes degenerate. Private charity came to the relief of these people when they faced destitution, but practically nothing was done to lift them *en masse*

[37] John D. Kendree to Mrs. C. C. Jenkins, Aug. 26, 1841. Jenkins MSS.

[38] The mountain people, who practiced a self-sufficing economy, should not be classed as poor whites.

[39] Hundley, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[40] Schaper, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

[41] Lieber, Francis, *Slavery, Plantations and the Yeomanry*, p. 4.

[42] Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

[43] Craven, Avery, "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Negro History*, Jan., 1930, p. 15.

[44] Pringle, Elizabeth W. Allston, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 18-19; *The Land We Love*, I, 390-392.

to a higher level of respectability. They were accepted as the dregs of society. When chronically pauperized they were placed in the poorhouse, and when convicted of crime they were placed in jail.

The poor whites of the sandhills were described by a rice planter as "small, gaunt, and cadaverous, and their skin is just the color of the sandhills they live on."[45] Mary Boykin Chesnut, who lived in proximity to the sandhill "tackeys" left us a picture of the type which bears the marks of fidelity.

> Her skin was yellow and leathery and even the whites of her eyes were bilious in color. She was stumpy, strong, lean and hard featured, horny-fisted—as long as I can remember gangs of these sandhill women have trapsed in with baskets to be filled by charity, ready to carry away anything they could get. All are made in the same pattern, more or less alike—they were asked in to take seats by the fire—Their husbands and sons whom we never saw were voters. The women would sit by the fire for hours before demanding what they had come for.[46]

The cadaverous countenances of the poor whites were tragic reminders of the ravages of malaria, hookworm and malnutrition;[47] while the presence of illegitimate children testified all too eloquently to a low state of personal morality.[48] The abject condition of the poor whites was conducive to intemperance, indolence and petty crime; and their ignorance of politics placed them at the mercy of wily politicians.

Crowded out of the fertile malarial belt into the marginal and submarginal pinelands and sandhills, the poor whites subsisted perforce on the barest necessities.[49] Wage earners of the class were placed in competition with slave labor at a daily and monthly wage which compelled a low standard of living. The editor of the *Mountaineer* was of the opinion that "the condition of many free white persons in the lower class of society even in this country [up-state] . . . is much worse than that of our slaves."[50]

[45] Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

[46] Chesnut, Mary Boykin, *A Diary from Dixie*, p. 401.

[47] Buck, Paul H., "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1925, p. 45.

[48] Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

[49] Lyell, Sir Charles, *Travels in North America*, I, 147. Lyell states that "there appears to be no place in society for the poor whites." For obvious reasons, planters did not want poor whites on their plantations except in the capacity of overseers. Buck, Paul H., *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

[50] *Mountaineer*, Feb. 28, 1829.

In most cases, the homes and the fields of the poor whites presented a run-down condition. William Gregg, who saw much of the poor whites, regarded them as a miserable lot, "many of whom," he alleged "are too lazy to mend a broken gate or to repair the fences to protect their crops from neighboring stock."[51]

Slaves despised the "poor white trash"; and naturally resented being disciplined by "Po Buckra" (serving as overseer or patrol) whose only badge of superiority, in the opinion of the slaves, was a white skin. The antipathy between the slaves and the poor whites was so deep-seated as to survive the War for Southern Independence and to constitute to this day a factor of no mean consequence in racial relations. As between the poor whites and the landed gentry there existed, despite the social barrier, a common bond—that of race, and a common cause, the maintenance of white supremacy as guaranteed by the institution of slavery.[52]

In consequence of exclusion from plantations and in consequence of a lack of skill in the trades, opportunities for gainful employment for the poor whites were limited. James H. Hammond estimated that there were about 50,000 dependent white families in South Carolina,[53] and William Gregg, desirous of employing cheap labor in factories, estimated that 125,000 white people were either not at work or were so employed as to be non-productive to the State.[54] One may inquire why the poor whites did not acquire more skill and diligence and thus raise the standard of their services. The answer is, they lacked incentive and facilities for improvement. Against a background of poverty and sordidness, the poor whites acquired an inferiority complex which effectually penalized social climbing and prompted inbreeding of class prepossessions. Socially and economically, the cards were stacked against them.

The Poor Laws of South Carolina provided for commissioners in each District to administer poor relief at the expense of the taxpayers. The money derived from a special tax for the relief of paupers was used for the upkeep of the poorhouses in the Districts or, in the absence of a poorhouse, distributed quarterly to those on relief at the District seat of justice.[55] At Georgetown in 1819

[51] Gregg, William, *Essays on Domestic Industry,* p. 8.
[52] Craven, Avery, *loc. cit.,* p. 24.
[53] Merritt, Elizabeth, *James H. Hammond,* 1807-1864, p. 87.
[54] *De Bow's Review,* IV, 133. [55] *Winyaw Intelligencer,* Oct. 13, 1819.

persons subsisting on the bounty of the parish were notified to appear for their quarterly installment in necessary articles of merchandise and cash.[56] As a forward step in dealing with paupers, the legislature in 1821 authorized the erection of poorhouses in Georgetown, Pendleton, Kershaw and Lancaster Districts with "monies derived from the poor tax for the District."[57] In 1824 the legislature conferred blanket authority to establish poorhouses in all the Districts. All poorhouses were placed in charge of an overseer, appointed by the Commissioners of the Poor, who was to superintend the cultivation of the farm by the inmates of the institution and to regulate the affairs of the poorhouse generally.[58]

The Commissioners of the Poor were further authorized to bind out to service illegitimate children and children of paupers in all cases where such persons were liable to become a charge on the District.[59] This, of course, was a form of apprenticeship which insured training in the manual arts to the end that when the females were released at the age of eighteen or at marriage, and the males released at the age of twenty-one, they would not thereafter be a burden to society. This mode of relief, based on sound, human principles, tended to forestall hereditary poverty and to condition those "bound out" for useful living. For adults sunk in poverty, no public scheme of rehabilitation was envisaged. Paupers, idiots, lunatics and epileptics were to be lodged in the Lunatic Asylum which opened its doors in 1828.[60] The capacity of this institution was, however, too limited to care for more than a modicum of the indigent idiots and the insane; nevertheless, the establishment of the asylum was an earnest of more intelligent and humane treatment of the insane, who previously had often been lodged in the common jails.

If the number of statutes in South Carolina dealing with bastardy is an index to the prevalence of this social irregularity, one may fairly surmise that bastards were numerous. Negro bastards were not a social problem, but white bastards might easily become a public charge. In order to insure support of bastard children by the reputed father, the legislature required the mother of a bastard child to supply a magistrate of the District with the name of the father. Unless the person designated as the father could success-

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] Statutes at Large, VI, 159. [58] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 410, 432. The binding out of children to learn useful trades was also a function of the court. [60] *State Gazette*, Mar. 29, 1828.

fully refute the charge in open court, he was required to post bond in the sum of $300 to secure the annual payment of twenty-five dollars for the support of the child until it reached the age of twelve years.[61]

Implicit in all these concerns was the budding obligation of the State to accept responsibility for the care of miscast members of society and for those physically and mentally deficient. This obligation increasingly disturbed the conscience of the legislature until fairly adequate provision was made for the care of the paupers, insane, deaf, dumb and blind. As regards paupers, in no case was the public bounty sufficient to encourage idleness or to invite beggary.

In certain sections of the State there were families of mixed blood living on the social border line, striving at every opportunity to be legally and socially recognized as persons of white blood. In the office of the Clerk of the Court of Kershaw County are deposited the legal records of the B— family, one of those border line families who for generations claimed to be free white, but recognized generally by the white people of the region as free persons of color. Members of the family, according to a magistrate, had every appearance of white people, and from time to time the court adjudged members of this family to be free white.[62] Despite appearances and court action, the B— family was believed to be tainted with Negro blood, and in consequence, lived in virtual social isolation—Ishmaelites in the land of their birth.

Action of the courts in adjudging a person of doubtful social status to be white, conferred certain legal advantages on the party, but rarely changed the opinion of his white neighbors and acquaintances. The memory of a family taint survived from generation to generation; neither time nor circumstances could obliterate it. Apropos of this attitude Major David Gavin of St. George noted in his diary: "At court the other day I heard that Joel Shell had sold the land he bought of Marshall Patrick to W. D. F— who was made white a few courts ago although one-fourth negro."[63]

Aside from widely scattered families of doubtful social classi-

[61] Statutes at Large, XL, 24. The mother could be held in prison until she named the father.

[62] MSS. in the office of the Clerk of Court, Camden, S. C., Apt. F, Rolls 872, 1186, 2017.

[63] Diary of Major David Gavin, Apr. 14, 1858.

fication, there were at least two groups fairly well localized that present something of a problem to the student of ethnology.[64] One of these groups, the Turks, resided near Stateburg. Their origin is obscure. The belief commonly held that General Thomas Sumter had a Turkish or Arab bugler in his command during the Revolution, who settled at Stateburg and sired the group, is not susceptible of proof. One fact is obvious, the Turks were neither black nor white. Their swarthy complexions and coarse dark hair suggest a strong admixture of Indian blood. Only one patronymic, Ben-an-Haly, bears a strong resemblance to Turkish nomenclature. Oxendine, a common patronymic, was also common among the Croatans of North Carolina. Other family names, such as Ray and Hood, are obviously of English origin. At present, this singular group constitutes a social unit of great cohesiveness, with a separate school and churches.[65]

Another group, known as the Brass Ankles, scattered in the sandhills and swamps of St. John's Berkeley, utterly defy classification. These people have always desired to be considered white or white with an Indian mixture. How this mongrel group originated no man can tell. The most plausible explanation is that offered by Samuel Stoney of Charleston who surmises that, with the development of the plantation régime, the white drifters and ne'er-do-wells, instead of moving to the frontier, settled on the infertile sand ridges not desired by the planters, and there mixed with the Indians and free persons of color. The Brass Ankles are more widely scattered today than in ante-bellum times and the social bars are kept up less strictly against them.[66] Unlike the Turks, the Brass Ankles are without pride in their origin and are loath to submit to classification as other than white people.

The presence of mixed social groups in South Carolina provokes the observation that in the upper levels of society racial and family pride effectually forced to the lower levels any product of miscegenation; but at the lower levels such products (more in evidence) gave less offense and bore less social stigma. It

[64] The author is not informed as to whether the Croatans of Robeson County, N. C., spread into South Carolina prior to 1860. They now live in considerable numbers around Latta and Dillon.

[65] For a description of the Turks, see Sumter, Thomas S., *Stateburg and Its People,* pp. 43-44.

[66] Thomas Stoney is co-author of *Po Buckra,* a novel dealing with the social and economic problems of the "Brass-Ankles."

seems evident, therefore, that in the ante-bellum period the purity of the white race was being assailed from below. There poverty and ignorance tended to drag down racial standards. With the spread of public schools and a general rise in the standard of living, there has been less blending of races at the lower social and economic levels.[67] The descendants, however, of those born in the tangled racial skein, frustrated by social and economic barriers, face a perplexing and uncertain future.

[67] In Berkeley County the public school officials have had to adopt an arbitrary ruling as to who are white people.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR HEALTH

The most relentless and insidious foe of humanity in ante-bellum South Carolina was disease. Rich and poor, young and old, alike were exposed to its ravages, suffering death and debilitation on a scale which appalled the most stouthearted. So prevalent and fatal was disease, especially in the Low-Country, that the preservation of health became a matter of supreme concern. Many people, strengthened by the consolations of religion, accepted with resignation the frequent visits of the grim reaper as an act of Providence. Others, while sharing the comforts of religion, nevertheless sought in large numbers to escape disease and death by migrating just prior to the "sickly season"[1] to regions which afforded immunity to the diseases incident to summer; and, by so doing, noticeably conditioned the social and intellectual life of the State.

There were diseases peculiar to winter, diseases peculiar to summer, and others which might occur at any season. Summer, however, was predominantly the "sickly season." Respiratory diseases such as influenza and pneumonia took a large toll of life in winter; tuberculosis, heart disease, and diseases of childhood brought fatalities the year round; but summer ushered in fevers and dysentery. During the season for fevers no white man, woman or child in the Low-Country, not immediately on the coast or in the pinelands, was safe.[2] It was estimated by W. W. Boddie that every year at least half the people of Williamsburg District were incapacitated for business and social activity on account of fever.[3] The Up-Country was also subject to fevers; but outbreaks were generally localized or, at least, sufficiently limited in scope as not to precipitate a general exodus of the inhabitants.

[1] The sickly season in the Low-Country lasted from May until the first killing frost in autumn.

[2] This generalization does not apply to the blacks. They appeared to be less susceptible to malaria.

[3] Boddie, W. W., *History of Williamsburg County*, p. 320.

The most common types of fever were malarial, bilious, yellow, scarlet and dengue. Of these, malarial was probably the most prevalent and yellow fever the most fatal.

Malaria, which signifies bad air, was believed to be caused by the decomposition of rank vegetation in swamps and streams. From this decayed vegetable matter there arose, according to Mills, "a mephitic vapor" which was carried by the winds "to poison the streams of life in all that inhale it."[4] The clouds of miasma borne here and there by the winds were regarded as especially noxious when inhaled after nightfall. In order to avoid contact with these pestilential vapors, the gentlemen of the Low-Country, where malaria was endemic, constructed their dwellings on high brick basements and reserved second stories for bedrooms. What the sleepers on the second floor escaped, to some degree, was the malarial-bearing mosquito which ranged near the ground. The people of the Low-Country surmised correctly the source of malaria, but did not recognize the agent. They realized, too, that by draining the swamps malaria could be virtually stamped out. As to the dread of night air, there was some justification. As the mosquitoes were more active by night than by day, it was doubtless true that night air was more liable "to poison the streams of life" than the sun-cleansed air of day which reduced the mosquitoes to a state of comparative quiescence.[5]

While malaria was most prevalent in the Low-Country, no part of the State except the mountainous portions and the littoral entirely escaped the seasonal scourge. What its debilitating force cost the State in terms of physical and mental energy, no one can estimate with any degree of certitude. It is certain, however, that the cost was enormous.

The most common manifestations of malaria were chills and fever and general debilitation. The victim lost weight and energy, took on a cadaverous aspect, and lived in constant dread of the ague which came with painful regularity to shake the patient from center to circumference. Chills and ague might recur daily or on alternate days, but once the schedule was established, they arrived on time and left the sufferer prostrate. Despite the use of well-known remedies, a seizure of chills and fever frequently lasted for weeks and even months. Those afflicted could, in the absence of

[4] Mills, Robert, *Statistics*, pp. 297-298.

[5] The malarial mosquito is known as the Anopheles.

relief from medicine, look forward to the first killing frost as a sure panacea. The Rev. John McLees noted in his diary, September 21, 1838: "Mr. Simpson came home with me to see Jefferson and thought he had the chills and fever which has been in his family for near two months." In July, 1817, W. Thacher, a New England tutor residing in the Low-Country, was afflicted with chills and fever. For remedy, he first took three doses of tartar and jalap "to remove the bile." After each purging he took a wine glass of bark tea every hour. Thacher purged himself nightly and drank bark and senna tea sweetened with milk, but the chills and fever continued intermittently until September. When the fever finally left him on September 2, he avowed that he was but a shadow of what he was formerly.[6]

Various remedies were prescribed for malaria, some of which were positively worthless. One is surprised to find a country physician taking salt and pepper for malaria.[7] Many illiterate people carried amulets about their persons to prevent or break the onslaught of malarial and other fevers. Most intelligent people, however, made use of potent remedies. In July, 1844, the Rev. John McLees, along with a great many other people in the Abbeville District, succumbed to chills and fever. He first took calomel, followed by quinine, "which prevented the chill." His chills recurred, accompanied by night sweats. He recorded that he suffered from a high fever, headache and loss of appetite. His skin took on a yellow cast. He changed the treatment to quinine and pepper and, that failing, he subjected himself to a course of cherry bark tea and red pepper.[8] It is needless to say that a good deal of whiskey was drunk to stimulate the flagging spirits of the victims of malaria. Indeed, it was believed that whiskey would prevent malaria, and for that reason it was issued to sailors in the Confederate Navy at an early hour every morning.[9] The heroic treatment prescribed for malaria unquestionably contributed to the emaciation of the sufferer; but stubborn diseases were thought to require drastic remedies.

The dread yellow fever was restricted largely to the towns, and

[6] Thacher Diary, July 16, 1817.

[7] Account Book of Zachary Meriwether, Feb. 1, 1857. MS. in possession of Harry Legare Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

[8] McLees Diary, July 15, 1844.

[9] Robinson, W. M., Jr., "Prohibition in the Confederacy," *American Historical Review,* Oct. 1931, p. 53.

there attacked chiefly the whites.[10] The port of Charleston appears to have been the focal point of attack. The Journal of Jacob Schirmir, a Charleston merchant, shows that nearly every August and September the people of Charleston were alarmed by the reported presence of yellow fever. Such alarms resulted in a hasty exit of families to the sea-islands and the pinelands and in spreading terror among the people who were unable to leave the city. Inability of the medical profession to treat yellow fever successfully, together with the high rate of mortality, caused yellow fever to be dreaded almost as much as cholera. Susan deSaussure, in writing to her cousin apropos of fevers in Charleston, issued a note of warning:

> I must warn you against venturing to Charleston before we have a frost. Fevers of every kind are prevailing there to such an extent that natives scarcely feel themselves exempt. Grown persons of sixteen, eighteen, and twenty have had yellow fever. Most of those born in the city have recovered. Children and servants have been very liable to the fever this year.[11]

Jacob Schirmir noted visitations of yellow fever in Charleston in 1834, 1835, 1838, 1839, 1843, 1849 and 1852. The epidemic in 1849 was especially severe, resulting in the death of eighty-seven persons. Schirmir wrote that he had no doubt there were a great many more deaths.[12] One infers from a reading of Jacob Schirmir's Journal that the Board of Health and the newspapers were reluctant to announce the presence of yellow fever, as such an announcement gave the city a poor bill of health.

Bilious and typhoid fever raged intermittently in the warm months throughout the State. The former seldom proved fatal; but the latter carried a high rate of mortality. Unsanitary living conditions, particularly among the blacks, and failure to guard the water supply from contamination contributed largely to the appearance of typhoid. Major David Gavin recorded that he lost six Negroes in the summer of 1855 from typhoid fever.[13] The three death notices in the *Southern Patriot* of September 30, 1852, indicate that typhoid fever was the cause of all three deaths. The

[10] Shyrock, R. H., "Medical Practice in the Old South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Apr., 1930, p. 164.
[11] Susan deSaussure to her cousin, Sept. 21 (year omitted), Jenkins MSS.
[12] Schirmir Journal, Nov. 12, 1849.
[13] Diary of Major David Gavin, Oct. 18, 1855.

editor noted that typhoid fever usually broke out in old wooden houses "and was there most fatal."

Dengue or "broken bones" fever made its appearance in the Low-Country on occasion. Dengue induced a painful aching of the bones; but, according to Jacob Schirmir, it was not considered dangerous. Scarlet fever was often fatal to children, in some instances all but decimating entire families. In this connection the Rev. John McLees noted: "I attended the funeral of Mr. Squires child—it was the fifth and last which died since the middle of March with scarlet fever."[14]

Cholera knew no color line and made no distinction between town and country. So fatal was the disease that when it attacked a plantation, overseers and slaves died in a few hours after the appearance of the first symptoms.[15] Mercifully, it did not strike often. In Charleston the strictest precautions were observed to prevent an outbreak of the most dreaded of all diseases. All vessels entering Charleston harbor from a port where cholera was reported to be in evidence were quarantined for a sufficient length of time to ascertain whether the vessel could be given a clean bill of health. Ellen —, of Charleston, in writing to a friend, reveals something of the anxiety felt by the people of Charleston when an epidemic of cholera seemed imminent.

> You think right of cholera—it is almost the only topic of conversation. We are in daily expectation of its arrival among us—though no vessel is allowed to approach our harbor from the North without being quaranteened [*sic*] for a space of time. I try to resign myself to it and be as good as I can. I know that if the disease becomes general, I will be as liable to take it as any one else—. Many are of the opinion that from the open way in which the town is built, we will have it very moderately, but I do not know how they can think that when they reflect on the negroes. You know they are naturally inclined to all sorts of filthy, dirty habits and are in the greatest degree careless and thoughtless.[16]

The extreme precaution taken to protect Charleston from cholera is indicated by a tragedy of the sea in 1832, recorded by Jacob Schirmir of Charleston. On November 3, 1832, a vessel was wrecked off Folly Beach. Of the one hundred and twenty

[14] McLees Diary, Apr. 12, 1844. [15] Shyrock, R. H., *loc. cit.*, p. 164.
[16] Ellen — to Miss Harriet Davis, July 30, 1830. Baptist Historical Collection. At the time this letter was written cholera was reported to be epidemic in New York.

passengers, about twenty had died of cholera. Intercourse between the wrecked vessel and the city was forbidden and on November 6 the vessel was burned by order of the City Council. On November 9 the patrol was called out to prevent intercourse with Folly Island, where no doubt the survivors of the wreck were stranded.[17]

Smallpox was another ancient scourge which broke out at intervals to paralyze the life of the community. In 1848 smallpox broke out in the upper portion of the parish of St. James' Santee and raged with such intensity as to force the closing of the schools.[18] Smallpox was reported as spreading in and around Socastee in 1826,[19] as present in Charleston in 1830[20] and 1853.[21] Smallpox was very contagious and destructive of life. Those who recovered from the disease sometimes carried the scars of bodily eruptions to their graves. Families beset by smallpox were quarantined; but, due to a widespread misconception of the action of vaccine, discovered by Edward Jenner about 1797, very few people took the precaution to have themselves and families vaccinated except in the presence of an overwhelming threat. It was not uncommon for the reaction to the serum to prove as serious as the disease itself.[22]

The presence of a large Negro population segregated in Negro quarters on the plantations greatly augmented the liability to disease. Negroes were notoriously careless and dirty; and, in consequence, susceptible to a number of diseases which in turn might be communicated to the whites. Due no doubt to careless habits, Negroes contracted pneumonia and typhoid fever to a disquieting degree;[23] and due to the carelessness and ignorance of Negro mothers, many a Negro baby died of dysentery and "teething." In this regard, a record of births and deaths of slaves kept by George W. Lee of Sumter for the years 1857-1864 is of interest:

Dolly, a faithful old woman supposed 59 years died of dropsy May 13, 1857.

[17] Schirmir Journal, Nov. 3, 6, 8, 1832.

[18] Doar, David, *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James Santee,* p. 25.

[19] *Camden Journal,* Oct. 7, 1826. [20] Schirmir Journal, June 12, 1830.

[21] William Smith to Elihu P. Smith, Jan. 24, 1853. R. H. Smith Papers.

[22] Rhea, Linda, *Hugh S. Legare,* pp. 2-3. Hugh S. Legare was vaccinated in his fourth year for smallpox, whereupon an infection developed which settled in his knees and elbows, rendering him a cripple for life.

[23] *De Bow's Review,* XI, 209-213.

Charlotte's child, Chloe, died 18 July 1857 teething age 15 months.

Ellie, a faithful old man, supposed 55 years died of typhoid fever, March 2, 1858.

Jimmy son (of) Chloe died May 11, 1859. Teething.

Susy, child of Chloe died Apr. 6, Teething.

Sumter, son of Amelia, died in Virginia Typhoid fever, Sept. 19, 1861.

William, an aged African who once belonged to my father, died 6 Oct. of gangrene 1862.

Amelia child (of)Chloe died Jan. 1864. Whooping cough.[24]

On the plantations, sick Negroes, unless seriously ill, were treated by the master or mistress. Large planters, however, frequently found it to their advantage to employ physicians by the year to attend plantation Negroes in illness, paying the attending physician a stipulated sum or so much per head.[25] At childbirth, Negro wenches were served by midwives, doctors being summoned only in case of grave complications. "Early this morning," wrote David Golightly, "my girl Minerva was delivered of a daughter. Mrs. Burlington was called, but she thought it advisable to call the assistance of Dr. King. I paid one two dollars, the other three dollars."[26] Negroe babies cost very little, but they sustained a high rate of mortality. Slaveowners were interested in "raising" Negroes to attain the grade of able-bodied laborers, and they were naturally distressed when their efforts in the premises were thwarted by disease. James H. Hammond of Beech Island deplored the marked decrease in the number of his slaves "in the course of nature." By his own testimony, he lost ten per cent, chiefly children, of a slave population of one hundred and sixty in 1841.[27]

White children also died at an alarming rate. Most heads of large families (and large families were the rule), when counting their children, numbered so many living and so many dead. Henry Ravenel of Hanover was the father of sixteen children, of which number six lived to manhood.[28] This record was by no means unprecedented. Many children died at birth or soon thereafter; and those who survived the ordeal of nativity had only about three

[24] Account Book in possession of Major Loring Lee, Sumter, S. C.

[25] Johnson, G. G., *A Social History of the Sea Islands,* p. 92; Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South,* p. 197.

[26] Harris Journal, Apr. 10, 1857.

[27] Hammond Diary, Aug. 5, 1842. [28] *Ravenel Records,* p. 256.

chances to one of attaining manhood or womanhood. Dysentery, scarlet fever, smallpox and the diseases of childhood cut short the span of young life and greatly reduced the average age of the entire population.

One repulsive and unsanitary practice, which no doubt contributed to the high death rate of infants, was that of allowing white children to be suckled by buxom young Negresses.[29] "It may be incredible to some," wrote John Davis, "that children of the most distinguished families of Carolina are suckled by negro women."[30] White children were thus exposed to any communicable disease which happened to be in evidence in the Negro quarter. Healthy wenches perhaps supplied a good grade of milk; but the baby's fingers, frequently in the mouth, transmitted germs brought in from squalid habitations.

Childbirth was an ordeal which many women failed to survive. An uncommon degree of courage and fortitude were required to sustain women in the fulfillment of their biological destiny. Religious sanctions and a sense of duty comforted many a woman who annually or biennially endured the travail of childbirth, to the great pride and gratification of the husband and admiring relatives. A fruitful woman was an ornament to her sex and an asset to her State.

The services of midwives at childbirth further complicated the element of danger in some cases. Midwifery was regarded somewhat in the light of a profession, almost wholly empirical, but much esteemed. In every neighborhood, some woman, black or white, posed as an authority on obstetrics. In Charleston, reputable midwives inserted cards in the local paper offering their professional services to the ladies of Charleston.[31] Physicians vouched for the character and services of certain midwives; but, withal, there were too many cases of the employment of a midwife only or of failure to call a physician until dangerous complications were evident.

Intemperate males frequently died prematurely of indulging too freely in libations to Bacchus or of eating to vast excess of highly seasoned, but delectable, food. J. B. Howland, Esq., in addressing a temperance meeting in Charleston, asserted that

[29] In the *Courier* of Nov. 2, 1843, the following advertisement appeared: "Wet nurse wanted black or white."

[30] Davis, John, *Travels of Four and One-Half Years in the United States of America*, p. 86.

[31] *City Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1822.

from 1822-1830 one hundred and thirty-five persons died of alcoholism in Charleston.[32] Charleston sustained the reputation of being a wine-drinking city, but wine was not always drunk in moderation. A certain Dr. J—, planter and physician of the vicinity of Charleston, was said to be prematurely old because, as his acquaintance observed, he had lived "too fast" when young. "He boasts of having drunk two or three bottles of wine in an evening."[33] Up-Country distilleries discharged large quantities of brandy made from the fruit of local orchards and drunk to the detriment of health and reputation. "Drunkenness," exclaimed Mills, "is the crying sin of our country."[34]

The appetizing and bountiful meals served on the tables of the well-to-do invited intemperance in eating; while club dinners, picnic dinners and collations in honor of popular politicians, to which gentlemen resorted at fairly regular intervals, induced gormandizing. For a sample of the dinners served by hunting clubs, we are indebted to Henry Ravenel of Hanover, a member of the St. Stephen's Club. Each member of the club was "to find a dinner in the order in which he shall become a member." The dinner and accessories were to consist of the following:

A roasted turkey, two ducks, two fowls or a dish equivalent to two fowls, one half a shoat or sheep dressed according to the option of the finder, one ham or piece of salted beef, one peck of rice, two loaves of bread, mustard, pepper, salt, vinegar, two bottles of brandy, one of gin, one of whiskey, twenty-five Spanish and twenty-five American segars, and two dozen each of plates, tumblers, wine glasses, knives and forks.[35]

Digestive disorders were by no means unknown in that age of flesh eaters. James H. Hammond confesses in his diary that at the age of twenty-eight he had "one foot in the grave," a victim of "nervous dyspepsy."[36] Of course, strong constitutions and life in the open did much to counteract indulgence in eating and drinking. Many men of intemperate habits lived to a ripe old age and died of what the Board of Health of Charleston was pleased to term "old age."

[32] *Courier,* Feb. 15, 1850. The official reports of the Board of Health ascribe only two or three deaths a year to intemperance.

[33] Thacher Diary, Sept. 2, 1817. See Yates Snowden, *The Planters of St. John's,* for a description of a young man of the Low-Country who dissipated his energies.

[34] Mills, *op. cit.,* p. 441.

[35] *Ravenel Records,* p. 269.

[36] Hammond Diary, April, 1836.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of disease, births easily outdistanced deaths. Figures supplied by *De Bow's Review* for the year 1857 show that there were 18,920 births in the State as against 11,687 deaths.[37] Prior to the 'fifties, Charleston was apparently the only community in the State which assembled and preserved vital statistics in a reliable way.[38] The Board of Health of Charleston was active in reporting outbreaks of disease, in enforcing quarantine and in abating nuisances. The South Carolina delegation to the Knoxville Convention in 1836 was able to report that of the entire population of Charleston only one in forty-five, or less than 2¼%, died annually. Of the deaths 12½% were caused by consumption, while upward of 11% died of old age,[39] a somewhat better showing than for the State at large.[40]

Drinking water supplied by the wells and cisterns of Charleston was not of the best—a condition which prompted repeated efforts to obtain artesian water. Successive borings were finally crowned with success, but not until the city suffered several destructive fires as a result of a limited supply of water for pumping. Sanitary conditions were further improved by the construction of a network of underground tidal drains for conveying the sewerage to the surrounding waters. Other urban communities used open drains flushed by rain water, and relied for drinking water upon cisterns, wells and springs. In rural as well as urban areas, lack of sanitation was responsible for hookworm (not then recognized) and typhoid fever. It was the golden age of germs, epidemics and intemperance.

The professional rating of the physicians and surgeons of South Carolina compared favorably with the medical fraternity of other states. In preparation for the practice of medicine, young men either served an apprenticeship under some celebrated physi-

[37] *De Bow's Review,* XXVI, 352.

[38] An act of the legislature of 1853, amended in 1856 and 1858, provided for statewide registration of vital statistics. Information regarding births and deaths was assembled in haphazard manner. See Statutes at Large, XII, 300; XIII, 725.

[39] *Niles' Weekly Register,* Sept. 17, 1848. These figures are substantially in line with those cited in the *Census of Charleston* for the year 1848, a census prepared by J. L. Dawson and H. W. deSaussure by authority of the City Council.

[40] The death rate in Charleston in 1848 was 18.68 per 1,000 people. For the entire State the death rate was 20 per 1,000 people. The figures for the State are found in Statistics of the United States (including mortality, property, etc.) in 1860, p. 213.

cian or went to a medical college for a course of lectures. René Ravenel II noted in 1809: "My son Henry went to Charleston to study Physic under Dr. Samuel Wilson."[41] In November of the same year Henry went to Philadelphia to complete his studies at a medical college in that city. License to practice medicine was obtained by standing a successful examination before an examining board of physicians. In 1817 two boards of physicians were appointed to conduct the annual examinations at Columbia and Charleston.[42] In 1833, however, the legislature authorized the trustees and faculty of the Medical College of the State of South Carolina to grant license to practice medicine and surgery to any person presenting a diploma from some medical institution, or upon examination by the faculty. This body was also authorized to grant licenses to apothecaries to sell drugs and medicines.[43]

In the practice of medicine, physicians and surgeons were much handicapped by reason of limited hospital facilities and medical supplies.[44] Charleston was the seat of a first-rate hospital and medical college; but, due to difficulties of travel and general ignorance of the value of hospital treatment, invalids preferred to test the healing waters of the more accessible and less expensive mineral springs.

Country physicians kept a limited supply of medicines from which they filled their prescriptions, charging the patient for both medicine and professional services. A country physician's account book for the years 1816 and 1817 reveals that the physician practiced in at least one family for a stipulated sum per year. The physician's account book for the year 1817 indicates something of the cost of medical service to one Robert Marsh:

Sept. 26—to visit to negro wench $1.00
Medical prescription and Directory $1.00
Catharle Senna 37½
Visit to negro wench $1.00[45]

While the cost of medical service was moderate, many people patronized quacks and self-made practitioners who compounded remedies of roots and herbs. As R. H. Shyrock observes, "Every-

[41] *Ravenel Records,* p. 241.
[42] Statutes at Large, VI, 64. [43] *Ibid.,* p. 497.
[44] It is of interest to note in this connection that ether was first used in Greenville in medical practice in August, 1847 in the removal of a cataract of the eye. See *Mountaineer,* Aug. 20, 1847.
[45] Account Book of Dr. Zachary Meriwether.

one was allowed to practice medicine by 1850 and it was only a mild exaggeration to say that everyone did."[46] The patronage of irregular practitioners was due in part to a lack of confidence in the regular physicians and in part to faith in tried home remedies. It is true that the symbols and formulas of the trained physician inspired awe and wonder among the illiterate classes; but among people of education, physicians were subjected on occasion to a certain amount of ridicule.[47] One could almost certainly tell what medicines a physician would prescribe in the treatment of diseases common to the locality; and yet, when an emergency was deemed to exist, the doctor with his thermometer, pills, calomel and lancet was summoned to the bedside of the sufferer. In actual practice physicians made liberal use of paregoric, quinine and strong purges. Fever patients were starved and bled and pneumonia patients sweated. Leeches were used to suck the impurities from the blood and poultices applied to boils and risings to prepare them for the lancet, a common instrument of torture. Castor oil, or blue mass, and Dover's powder were remedies for colds.[48] Ammonia, whiskey and pepper tea revived the prostrate, while mustard baths prepared one for "the long silent watches of the night." According to J. M. McKim, the Southern medical man delighted in the heroic system:

> His favorite reliances are mercury, antimony and catharides; drastic doses inwardly and torturing applications outwardly. When well a Southern man's diet is salt pork with stimulating drinks to make it digestible. When sick his medicine is an exhausting cathartic to clear him out and a horse power tonic to build him up. In other words the knocking down and jerking up practice of the plantation carried into medicine.[49]

Notwithstanding the handicaps under which physicians practiced medicine, they were generally faithful according to their lights, visiting rich and poor alike in fair weather and foul. Robert Newman Gourdin wrote concerning his brother William, whose practice was confined largely to the rice plantations and pinelands along the Cooper River:

[46] Shyrock, R. H., *loc. cit.*, p. 171.

[47] For a sample of ridicule, see *Daily Courier,* Sept. 14, 1855.

[48] Dargan, E. C., *Harmony Hall, Recollections of an Old Southern Home,* p. 17.

[49] J. M. McKim to Stephen Caldwell, Esq., contained in a pamphlet entitled *The Freed Blacks of South Carolina;* Bound Pamphlets, V. 6, Library of the University of South Carolina.

The sick were never so far away, the weather never so tempestuous, the night was never so dark and rainy, the summer atmosphere of the rice swamp never so deadly that they deterred him from the bedside of the sufferer; the bedside of the slave as well as the master, and the poor of the pine woods, which skirt the rice plantations of the rich, were equally the objects of his care and without recompense. We saw this while he lived and his books when he died were the written evidence.[50]

The struggle for health precipitated in the Low-Country on the eve of the annual "sickly season" an exodus of the gentry on a scale probably unparalleled by any subsequent seasonal movement of people within the State. It was estimated by the statistician, Robert Mills, that in the 'twenties of the nineteenth century from 1,500 to 2,000 people left Charleston alone for resorts, principally in the North.[51] While the annual dispersion of the gentry was caused largely by considerations of health, the social prestige which a visit to Saratoga Springs, White Sulphur Springs or Newport bestowed also motivated the great migration. As only people of substantial means could well afford extended visits to Northern resorts, the majority of the gentry sought to escape malaria and other summer ailments by removing to more accessible parts. Some removed to the sea-islands, others to the adjacent pinelands, while still others trekked *en familia* to the more distant foothills and mountains. So imperative appeared the need for migrating in summer, that most wealthy planters maintained summer retreats in areas little exposed to the diseases incident to summer. To these summer homes Low-Country families went regularly in May and remained until the first killing frost in the autumn. Dr. John B. Irving of Windsor Plantation, on or near the Cooper River, wrote: "Moved my family to town this year on the first of May." In 1843 Dr. Irving's family lived in the pinelands at Spring Hill until the middle of June before moving to town. In 1845 he moved his family back to his plantation "on Nov. 12 following a slight frost on the morning of Nov. 5."[52] Twice a year there was a great upheaval in Low-Country households. Clothing had to be aired, sunned and packed for transportation; carriages and wagons or boats loaded; and the entire family, accompanied by household domestics, moved in procession to the summer or winter

[50] Gourdin Memoir, p. 8.

[51] Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[52] Record of Windsor Plantation. MS. in South Carolina Historical Society.

home.[53] Negroes were deemed to possess a certain immunity to malaria and were, therefore, left to cultivate the staples under the direction of a white overseer.[54]

The people of Charleston and vicinity removed to their summer residences on Sullivan's Island and Mt. Pleasant as much, perhaps, for the cooling sea breeze as for the sake of health. The planters of St. Paul and St. George Parishes resided in the delightful village of Summerville in the pinelands.[55] Beaufort, on the coast, was a popular rendezvous for the planters of the Barnwell District; and Pineville, some fifty-two miles north of Charleston, was a favorite resort of the planters of St. John's.[56] Other Low-Country retreats were Cordesville, Moultrieville, Plantersville and North Island. Mills observed that the people of Georgetown and vicinity had a "salubrious retreat" in North Island and adjacent sea-islands. "Between six hundred and seven hundred people assembled there during the sickly season."[57] There were, of course, many other localities in the pinelands and sandhills[58] to which Low-Country people resorted in the interest of health. Many of these places have long since been effaced; but a few descendants of Low-Country families still cherish fragrant memories of homes in the pines or on sea-islands, where life was easygoing and pleasant.

Old Stateburg in the High Hills of Santee was famed far and wide for its invigorating climate and its polite and cultured society. Here the famous Sumter family of South Carolina had its seat; and here also the Rutledges, Edward and John, lived at Sans Souci, a country seat of elusive charm and beauty.[59] In and around Camden and Aiken, planters built summer homes in the sandhills. The Chesnut family of Camden, for example, built three dwellings in Camden; the family owned Mulberry, just outside of Camden; and, in addition, a sandhills home to which the mosquitoes of the Wateree River did not penetrate.[60]

[53] Pringle, Elizabeth W. Allston, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 70.
[54] Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
[55] *Courier*, May 9, 1851.
[56] Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 482.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 560.
[58] According to Alex Lucas of McClellansville, S. C., William Lucas, owner of "The Wedge" on the Santee River, maintained a town house in Charleston and a summer home in Aiken.
[59] Sumter, Thomas S., *Stateburg and Its People*, pp. 5 ff. The High Hills of Santee lie just east of Sumter, between Sumter and the Wateree River.
[60] I am indebted for this information to Mr. Laurens Mills of Camden, S. C.

Columbia, as an excerpt from an old letter indicates, was not considered a healthful place in summer. "Do you continue during the warm season in Columbia? Many of its inhabitants resort to a more salubrious climate during the summer months."[61] According to E. J. Scott, Rice Creek Springs, about halfway between Columbia and Camden, was a favorite watering-place for the leading citizens of Columbia.[62]

Every summer, hundreds of Low-Country people took up their residence in the foothills and mountains of South Carolina and western North Carolina. It should be noted that the cultural impact of the Low-Country upon the Up-Country in the "sickly season" greatly stimulated interest in social functions and in various ways influenced the way of life of the Up-Country in the direction of Low-Country standards.

Of the Up-Country resorts, the people of Charleston evinced a preference for Flat Rock, N. C., and Pendleton in South Carolina. Pendleton rightly sustained the reputation of being the most cultured community in the Up-Country. Intelligent travelers, native and foreign, agreed that Pendleton was inhabited by people of wealth and refinement. "A very select society is found here," wrote Mills, who added that "some gentlemen of fortune and high respectability" had established homes there.[63] In 1827 a stagecoach route was opened from Charleston to Asheville, thus making accessible for the first time to the people of the Low-Country the attractive region in and around Flat Rock, N. C.[64] To this resort there came annually a select society from Charleston and vicinity. Another place which attracted Low-Country residents and visitors was Greenville, on the Reedy River. Visitors to Greenville were agreeably impressed with the social life of the town. They did not fail to eulogize "the beautiful and accomplished ladies" and to rhapsodize the delightful mountain breezes "which harmonize soul and body."[65] The editor of the Greenville *Republican* recorded, September 9, 1826, with evident satisfaction: "Our town has been visited by much company throughout

[61] S. S. F— to Mrs. Susan M. Evans, Nov. 12, 1824. Baptist Historical Collection.

[62] Scott, E. J., *Random Recollections,* p. 73.

[63] Mills, *op. cit.,* p. 674. Among the distinguished gentlemen who resided in and around Pendleton were John C. Calhoun, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Pinckney, Col. Alfred Huger, Governor James Hamilton, Langdon Cheves and General B. E. Bee of Confederate War fame.

[64] *Courier,* Sept. 24, 1833. [65] *Ibid.,* June 3, 1851.

the season. As a summer residence we know of no place entitled to preference." By 1851, however, a large number of visitors were observed passing through Greenville en route to the mountains of western North Carolina.[66] Progress in road construction obviously caused Greenville to become a way-station on the highway of summer travel.

Many summer visitors congregated at celebrated mineral springs for which the Spartanburg District was noted. Aside from the therapeutic action of the mineral water, the mineral springs provided places for social functions, political discussion and relaxation. Glenn Springs, in the Spartanburg District, was a popular resort for people from South Carolina and neighboring states. Because some of the governors of South Carolina found Glenn Springs an attractive place of residence in summer, it was referred to frequently as "the summer capital." At the height of the season the hotel was filled with guests, and fancy-dress balls provided gay carnival for the fashionable set.[67] The Limestone Springs, about fourteen miles northeast of Spartanburg, was also a popular resort in summer and early fall.

Located near Greenville on the Spartanburg Road, was Chick Springs, whose genial proprietor in the years just preceding the War for Southern Independence was Alfred Taylor. If one may judge from the number of guests in the hotel in the summer of 1861, this resort was widely patronized. Taylor recorded in his diary August 14, 1861, that there were one hundred and five guests in the hotel. Throughout the month of August the number of guests ranged from fifty to one hundred, placing such a strain upon the culinary department as to cause the proprietor to complain that he was "hard up for chickens." Other Up-Country resorts were Pumpkin Town, Table Rock, Caesar's Head, Saluda and High Hampton; the last named was the summer retreat of the Hampton family of Columbia.[68]

Prior to the 'fifties, when a movement to boycott Northern watering-places was inaugurated,[69] wealthy South Carolinians regularly registered at Northern resorts. William Gregg, on making a tour of the North in 1845, noted with some disgust that "the

[66] *Southern Patriot,* May 23, 1851.
[67] *Daily Courier,* Aug. 27, 1859.
[68] The ocean beaches did not attract large crowds until after the War for Southern Independence.
[69] Cole, A. C., *The Irrepressible Conflict,* p. 203.

register book of every fashionable hotel I visited exhibited a large share of names from South Carolina."[70] In a letter from Christopher Jenkins of Edisto Island to his wife, Jenkins, then a guest at Saratoga Springs, informed his wife that "Mr. Baynard, Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm, W. Mickell Seabrook and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Rutledge, Mr. and Mrs. Dalcho" and two or three other gentlemen from South Carolina were his fellow-guests.[71] J. C. Faber wrote, apropos of the residence of Charlestonians in New York: "After having accomplished our intended tour, we are again in the city and expect to remain here a few days longer, then go to see some of our Charleston acquaintances who have been spending their summer in a beautiful town on the Hudson some twenty miles from New York."[72]

At Saratoga and Newport, South Carolinians, in setting the pace for the social set, spent money lavishly, even wastefully, as their wine bills indicated. Some sought health; others, merely lively and congenial company. Wherever the struggle for health led South Carolinians, they lent tone and conviviality to the assembly, dispensing hospitality and spicing conversation with a gusto and charm born of English tradition and nurtured by Southern usage.

[70] Gregg, William, *Essays on Domestic Industry*, p. 10.
[71] Christopher Jenkins to his wife, July 13, 1826. Jenkins MSS.
[72] J. C. Faber to Major E. P. Smith, Sept. 29, 1848. R. H. Smith Papers.

CHAPTER VIII

IDEALS AND PRACTICES IN EDUCATION

The ante-bellum period carried forward with considerable elaboration of scale the educational practices of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. Educational attitudes and ideals drawn largely from England remained essentially unchanged. The generality of the people regarded education as a private concern worthy of support by individuals and benevolent and religious bodies, but alien to the obligations of the State. The one educational innovation in the ante-bellum period, the state-supported free school, violated the time-honored conception of education as a philanthropic enterprise and was, therefore, regarded in its inception as a sort of hybrid institution born of a misguided notion that the State was in some degree responsible for the education of the poor. The free schools were tolerated but never warmly supported.

Educational work in the secondary field was carried on by a variety of non-coordinated agencies, namely: private academies, religious bodies, benevolent societies and private tutors; while in the field of higher education, religious bodies, the State and one city were actively engaged. With the exception of the theological schools, the several agencies enumerated conformed, in the main, to a general educational pattern both as to means and objectives.

Perhaps the most effective and widespread agency for the dissemination of knowledge was the private academy which began to flourish after the Revolution. These institutions proved to be so popular that by 1830 one or more academies were to be found in every district in the State,[1] providing elementary and college preparatory work at a reasonable rate of tuition per quarter.

Academies arose in response to community need and, in most cases, in response to community effort. As a rule, when the progressive citizens of a community, which was not served by a school, were convinced that a school should be established, the

[1] Thomason, J. F., *The Foundations of the Public Schools of South Carolina*, p. 89.

first step was for someone interested in the project to canvass the neighborhood with the view of obtaining subscriptions. If sufficient financial support could be mustered, a meeting of interested citizens would launch the project. At Glenn Springs in August, 1843, ten leading citizens subscribed annually sums varying from thirty to one hundred and twenty dollars for the term of five years for the purpose of establishing a school at Glenn Springs. A part of the original sum subscribed was set apart for the erection of a suitable building thirty-two by twenty feet. At a meeting held August 31, 1843, it was resolved that the subscribers be trustees of the school and that the school be made available to all who wished to patronize, subject to tuition rates fixed by the trustees. Annual rates of tuition were as follows:

Reading, writing and Arithmetic.....$15
Day schoollars [*sic*] for the above at.....$5 per quarter
The above with English grammar,
geography and mathematics $30
The same with Lattin [*sic*] and Greek.....$30
All other branches .....$30[2]

Not all schools so founded attained permanent status as classical academies. Their continued existence depended upon sustained support from private citizens, which was not always forthcoming.

Scattered here and there over the countryside were schools which were conducted for short terms in dull seasons by schoolmasters of small learning. Such schools were conducted in whatever building was available and accessible for imparting instruction in the rudiments of the common branches. Such a school was described as follows:

The school was built of logs, devoid of nails except a few in the door. The floor was made of plank or puncheons. Light and air were admitted by leaving out one or two side logs. A wide plank was adjusted at a proper angle before the opening which served as a writing desk for the whole school. There was a capacious fireplace and a mud and stick chimney. The master's outfit consisted of a desk, split-bottomed chair, pen knife, a flat ruler, and a well-trimmed switch.[3]

[2] MS. in possession of the author. Manual labor schools, of which there were several in South Carolina in the 'thirties and 'forties, failed to meet with much popular favor.

[3] Abbeville *Press and Banner,* Sept. 6, 1876.

Another kind of school was the home school. Such a school was conducted in the home of some ambitious citizen who desired, first of all, to provide educational opportunity for his own children and, incidentally, for the community at large. In order to ease the financial burden of employing a teacher, the promoter would canvass his neighbors with the view of having them patronize the school. On January 7, 1858, David Golightly Harris of the Spartanburg District recorded in his diary: "Today I went again to see Miss Mary Landford about the school. I intend that my children shall have an education. If I cannot get a school at home I shall send them to the village." Evidently, because there was a dearth of "scholars" Miss Landford declined to teach. Subsequently, Doc Ray "went around among the neighbors" and reported to Harris that he thought he could "get a small school." Doc's school materialized with only the Harris children in attendance, a condition which so discouraged Doc Ray that he quit the school before the end of the term; and, eventually, Harris had to send his children to the boarding school in the village.[4]

Reputable and well-established classical academies, maintained by popular subscription and tuition fees, were, as a rule, incorporated by the legislature. The charter of incorporation provided for a body of trustees charged with the duty of employing teachers, fixing rates of tuition and assisting in the arrangement of the curriculum.[5] Where, however, the schoolmaster was celebrated, he was given a free hand in shaping the policies and practices of the institution. At Willington in the Abbeville District, Moses Waddel, renowned for his pedagogical methods, conducted a school which stressed religious exercises with as much fervor as it did the classics. A severe régime of hard work and plain living was prescribed with little opportunity for organized recreation. Students who graduated from this school were noted for thorough preparation and high standing in the colleges and universities they subsequently attended.[6]

Some of the numerous benevolent societies in the State, notably

[4] Harris Journal, Jan. 7-18, 1858.

[5] The term "academy" in the ante-bellum period was given a rather wide application. The classical academies in the third and fourth years offered a good deal of advanced work, preparing for the junior class in college, in many cases.

[6] A good sketch of Waddel's school by Ralph M. Lyon is found in the *North Carolina Historical Review,* July 1931, pp. 284-299.

the Winyaw Indigo Society of Georgetown, the Fellowship Society, the South Carolina Society, St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, and the St. David's Society of Society Hill, as well as many others, maintained schools for the instruction of orphans, poor children and children of members. The South Carolina Society admitted to its academies children whose fathers were dead at a much lower rate of tuition than was required of pupils whose parents were living.[7] These schools were largely the expression of a social obligation, born of a genuine charitable interest, to mitigate the condition of children handicapped by reason of unfortunate circumstances. The finest example of this expression is perhaps the Orphan House in Charleston, which in 1794 opened its doors to orphan children. An essential feature of its program was an excellent school which prepared students for the South Carolina College. The Orphan House has had a long career of usefulness and is to this day one of Charleston's most cherished institutions. Throughout the ante-bellum period it was supported by the proceeds of amateur concerts, private and public collections, bequests and an appropriation by the City Council of Charleston. As an example of its strong appeal to the people of Charleston, it is related that Mordecai Cohen contributed a barrel of rice, a quarter of beef and five gallons of brandy annually from 1803 to the time of his death—a period of forty-five years. During a portion of the time the brandy was omitted at the request of the Commissioners.[8]

As the end which the charity schools were designed to encompass was appropriated by the public schools, they gradually declined in importance. Only those like the Orphan House in Charleston and the John de la Howe School in the Abbeville District,[9] which were strongly endowed, survived the ante-bellum period.

Coeducation was not regarded with favor by the people of South Carolina; hence, the existence of so many male and female academies. If the thoughtful element of the population had been called on to formulate ideas in vindication of the segregation of

[7] *Courier,* Jan. 1, 1830.

[8] Reprint from the *Southern Standard* in the *Southern Patriot,* June 3, 1852.

[9] The John de la Howe School was founded as an industrial school for girls and boys in 1797. It was endowed by the founder, Dr. John de la Howe.

the sexes in the schools, there would have been little hesitation. One would have been told that men and women occupy different "spheres" in life; and, therefore, should be trained differently and separately. Back of this general observation, however, there were some practical considerations. Segregation of the sexes was conducive to better work and a deterrent to early and ill-sorted marriage; besides, separate establishments were a guarantee against scandal for both the institution and the individual. The Old South was deeply concerned with shielding the good name of woman from even the appearance of evil, and this concern was reflected in the segregation of the sexes in most public places. Indeed, so deep-seated was the practice that no direction was required for its observance.

Academies, however founded and supported, were considered assets to any community, imparting tone and intellectual stimulation. They were accessible to both poor and rich; but, in general, the personnel of the student bodies was representative of the upper stratum of society. This may be explained, first, on the ground that impecunious parents so little esteemed learning beyond the rudiments that they were unwilling (and in many cases no doubt unable) to spare their children from labor in the fields for attendance at preparatory schools. In the second place, people of small means were deterred from patronizing the academies by reason of the item of expense. When academies were within convenient walking or riding range, they could be attended with small financial sacrifice; but when the item of board was annexed to tuition, the cost generally placed the privilege of patronage beyond the means of the rank and file. In the 'thirties John McLees went to Lowndesville Male Academy and "put in with William Cazby Esq." While in attendance he recorded in his diary that he was doubtful whether he could remain all season "as I have not enough to bear the expense."[10]

The curricula of the classical academies presented a rather different menu for male and female—a menu intended to differentiate between the tastes and activities of the sexes; however, in the lower and middle forms the requirements for both sexes were practically identical. The curriculum was built around the three

[10] McLees Diary. John McLees later became the Reverend John McLees, a Presbyterian divine. The academic year was usually divided into four periods and tuition rates were graduated from about three to fifteen dollars per quarter.

R's and geography. Upon mastering the fundamentals, a student was advanced to parsing, natural and moral philosophy, logic, algebra, chemistry, Latin and Greek. The main intent and purpose of instruction beyond the primary forms seems to have been to prepare students for refined and enjoyable living. The training in the classics, which were the crowning glory of the curriculum, postulated that students upon arriving at their majority would be provided with a competence. Why then prostitute the ends of education to the sordid pursuit of earning a livelihood?

The educational machinery of the State was geared up to assure the dominance of the male in most of the relations of life. Education for the female was to equip her to adorn and to ennoble society, and to supply a background for the more aggressive male, upon whose field of worthy endeavor no limits were set. Young ladies were sent to finishing schools, sometimes called seminaries, where they were instructed in the standard subjects and in the embellishments of life, such as dancing, drawing, music, and bead and fancy needlework.[11] Modern languages, particularly French, were considered a desirable acquisition, and the science of botany was deemed to confer a certain adornment on the female mind. Fraser, in his *Reminiscences of Charleston* states that the aim of education for women was not to make them learned, but to develop their moral and intellectual qualities suitable to their position in society and relations in domestic life. "It is," he wrote, "the province of one to refine, to adorn, to tranquilize, whilst the scene of action for the other is as wide as the world itself."[12]

In a family of moderate means, if the father could not afford to send both boys and girls to boarding school, the boys were usually given the preference. In wealthy families, however, the education of young ladies was never neglected. Robert Newman Gourdin[13] of Charleston wrote in retrospect:

> I should like to speak of the education of my sisters. They were educated by Miss Datty, an accomplished French lady from San Domingo, who, with her family and others escaped the dreadful massacre of 1791 and made their home in Charleston. Her scholars were from the higher classes in our community.[14]

[11] These subjects were also offered in the female academies.
[12] Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences of Charleston,* p. 113.
[13] A member of a distinguished family of the Low-Country.
[14] Gourdin Memoir, p. 24.

The difficulties involved in sending young girls to boarding school were obviated among the wealthy families by the employment of a governess and, subsequently, by the employment of a tutor who gave instruction in the groundwork of the classics.[15] Afterwards the young ladies were sent to a female seminary or select finishing school, preferably in Charleston, where they would gain not only a knowledge of French and dancing, but would also, by contact with Charleston people, acquire poise, charm and the social graces for which Charleston society was celebrated. Concerning Edisto Island, Mills asserts that "the daughters are educated either under the paternal roof or sent with the girls to school until a certain age when they visit the city boarding schools to acquire such further instruction and accomplishments as those institutions are supposed capable of conferring."[16] After a very unsatisfactory experience with tutors at "Poshee" and Pineville, René Ravenel II sent his daughters to Charleston for schooling and dancing.[17] Governor R. F. W. Allston employed an English governess to instruct his children until the girls were ready for boarding school.[18] The employment of governesses and tutors was confined principally to the Low-Country, where English traditions were strongest. In the Up-Country, where Puritan standards of conduct were more in evidence and goods more equally distributed, young ladies generally went, without benefit of tutors, to schools such as the South Carolina Female Institute and the Limestone Springs Female Academy, where the more solid attainments were stressed.

Schoolteachers of the class commonly designated pedagogues by the literate led, as a rule, thriftless and itinerant lives. There were, however, some notable exceptions. They were regarded by the majority of the people as impractical visionaries, incapable of making headway in the world of affairs—social misfits crowded out into the borderland of human activity. Teachers in the academies were rated somewhat higher but, even there, the profession (the word may scarcely be applied) did not command the respect accorded the legal and medical professions. Teaching was a profession attended by meager salaries, insecurity of tenure and

[15] John G. Fletcher, in an essay "Education Past and Present," in *I'll Take My Stand,* by Twelve Southerners, asserts that private academies supplanted private tutors. This statement is substantially correct.

[16] Mills, Robert, *Statistics,* p. 477. [17] *Ravenel Records,* pp. 233-238.

[18] Pringle, Elizabeth W. Allston, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood,* p. 25.

much vexation of mind. Young men of promise sought the more lucrative and dignified stations of the planter, the lawyer or physician. All too often the profession was used as a stepping-stone to "higher things." In February, 1852, Thomas J. Earle assumed the duties of a schoolteacher in the Academy at Greenville (probably the Male Academy), taught about two weeks with a dearth of students, and then accepted the pastorate of a church at Pendleton.[19] There was such a scarcity of first-class native teachers that young men and women from the North, especially New England, found employment in appreciable numbers in the private schools of the South. On the eve of his departure for the Northern States, David R. Williams was authorized by the St. David's Society to procure in the North a teacher for the Academy at a salary of five hundred dollars.[20] B. F. Perry of Greenville, in a letter to his wife, mentioned the fact that a Mr. Maturin called to see him, seeking a position in the Greenville academies. Perry described this individual as "an accomplished gentleman and scholar" who spoke French, Italian, German, Spanish, Latin and Greek. "I think," wrote Perry, "he would be an acquisition to Greenville. He is a lawyer and practiced some years in New York."[21] South Carolina and, in fact, the South owes a great debt of gratitude to Northern teachers who ventured into the field of Southern secondary education, filling positions which did not challenge the South's best talent.

While a knowledge of languages living and dead was thought to be desirable, the prime requisite of an ante-bellum schoolteacher was that he be a good disciplinarian. The problem of discipline engaged in most cases as much of the teacher's time and thought as the problem of instruction. Schoolboys enjoyed horseplay and practical jokes and in the absence of a stern disciplinarian would turn what was intended to be an orderly school into a scene of confusion. The historian of the Presbyterian Church of South Carolina asserts that a strong and inflexible will and body were necessary to keep the robust and wilful youths of that day in submission.[22] Moses Waddel, who was reputed to be one of the most

[19] Diary of Thomas J. Earle, Feb. 9, 1852. MS. in possession of Miss Elizabeth Earle, Greenville, S. C.

[20] Cook, H. T., *Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams,* p. 191.

[21] Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother,* p. 196.

[22] Howe, Rev. George, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina,* II, 143.

successful teachers in the State, did not hesitate to use the rod as a last resort. What moral suasion and a regular course of preaching on Friday afternoons failed to accomplish in keeping the boys at Willington in bounds, was supplied by a stout hickory switch. "No man," wrote Howe, "could administer reproof with greater point and few better understood its application."[23] Waddel's personality and methods, however, failed to suppress disorder. W. F. Pratt, a student at Willington in 1836, complained of a lack of excitement and of the food, particularly the "Corndogers" and butter cakes. "Old Mrs. Squirt," he wrote, "has been sick for the last four or five days and has not come out yet. We had a hell of a frolic here Saturday night. I got tight as the devil—it was the only spree we have had in some time, 'tho I hope it will not be the last." The boys had what he termed, "bull dances" at night; the nature of these was not divulged.[24] The master of the Academy at Camden, attended by Edwin J. Scott, was a Presbyterian clergyman and a rigid disciplinarian. His favorite method of inflicting punishment was "to lay the victim across his lap, face downward, and there paddle him with a broad ruler, leaving marks in some cases that were visible for weeks."[25]

A form of contract given Elihu Watson, teacher, by G. S. Warren and J. N. Golding, trustees, February 16, 1826, stipulated that Watson should enforce certain rules and inflict corporal punishment for the violation thereof as he saw fit. In conclusion, some timely advice was offered:

> My most worthy friend, I have give theis (sic) Rules to you as I have them. But I charge you not to fail in one point from the first day if you want to have satisfaction never fail at the start but fulfill [*sic*] your Rules and after they find out you are as good as your word they will mind you and it will be an easy life.[26]

Emphasis upon the classics in the general scheme of secondary education was provocative from time to time of much criticism from those who felt that learning was running too much to ornamentation and too little to utility. The pragmatists were on the defensive and their protests barely made an impression on the entrenched position of the classicists. In a message to the General Assembly in November, 1836, Governor George McDuffie said:

[23] *Ibid.*, II, 144.
[24] W. F. Pratt to W. A. Townes, June 9, 1836. Townes Correspondence.
[25] Scott, E. J., *Recollections of a Long Life*, p. 14.
[26] Original in possession of Harry Legare Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

"In my opinion our system of school instruction should be more practical, having a more direct reference to the business and duties of active life. The common reproach against a classical education, that it tends to disqualify our young men from performing these duties is not without some foundation."[27] William G. Read, Principal of the Male Academy of the South Carolina Society, recommended the classical courses for those who desired to enter the professions; but for the generality of the people he thought the study of the classics "a frightful waste of time." This gentleman went so far as to assert that classical studies were incompatible with republican institutions "where the road to usefulness and honor lies open to all."[28] "Civis" wrote that he was pleased to see a bill introduced in the last session of the legislature which provided for the establishment of a Chair of Agriculture in the South Carolina College. "Literature and science are taught," he opined, "but that which constitutes the fundamental source of our wealth—the tilling of the ground is passed by with comparative neglect."[29]

The great classical scholar, Hugh Swinton Legare, and many others, argued beautifully and convincingly that a knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics was an essential ingredient of a liberal education. In fact, no South Carolina gentleman of parts considered his intellectual armory complete unless stored with the weapons of ancient oratory and mythology. A classical education, as defined by its champions, lifted a person above sordid desires and purely material motives and filled him with an appreciation of the highest values life could offer. It was held that one who had drunk deeply from the classical fountain could, in the words of Milton, "perform justly and magnanimously all the offices both public and private of peace and war." Southern society prized men of elegant address, men facile in conversation, chivalrous in love and brave in war—men who could not be deflected from the path of honor by blandishments or bribes. These qualities the classics were supposed in some degree to nourish; accordingly, they held a conspicuous place in the curriculum until an industrial society, with its emphasis on the practical, outmoded the more genteel objectives of the old order.

[27] *Mountaineer,* Dec. 10, 1836.

[28] William G. Read, *An Address Delivered before the South Carolina Society on the Occasion of the Opening of the Male Academy,* p. 10.

[29] *Southern Agriculturist,* March, 1853.

The original impulse in the realm of higher education in South Carolina appears to have been secular rather than religious. With a general view to elevating the tone of society and a particular view to breaking down the antagonism between the Low-Country and the Up-Country, the General Assembly in 1785 incorporated three colleges; two, Cambridge and Mount Zion in the Up-Country; and one, the College of Charleston, in the Low-Country. The two institutions of higher learning planned for the Up-Country were never able to attain college grade. The College of Charleston, however, after leading a checkered existence, developed about 1827 into a full fledged college with three departments: English, classical and scientific.[89] A fourth college was founded at Beaufort in 1795, which existed for a number of years as a first-rate secondary school, preparing students for the sophomore class of the South Carolina College.[91] All told, the State chartered six colleges before 1802 but only two, the College of Charleston and the South Carolina College, chartered in 1801, survived in the capacity of colleges. These pioneering efforts, based largely on utopian conceptions, were obliged to be attended by disappointments and failures. Lack of funds for purchasing equipment and hiring a faculty plus poor attendance proved to be insurmountable obstacles to the realization of a program of higher education launched without due regard to realities.

The College of Charleston, now the oldest institution of collegiate grade in the State, was founded as a "home college." The City of Charleston assumed control of the college in 1837 and two years later made an annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for its support. The munificence of Elias Horry and the Hon. Ker Boyce, outstanding Charlestonians, resulted in the creation of a substantial endowment which was subsequently supplemented by popular subscription.[92] While the student body was never large, the instructors were men of superior attainments and the curriculum was well balanced, embracing courses in chemistry, surveying, navigation, mineralogy and physics as well as "Evidences of Christianity" and the usual English and classical "roots and branches." The greatest obstacle to the proper order-

[89] Meriwether Colyer, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina*, p. 59.

[91] Knoblauch, J. A., *Backgrounds of Secondary Education in South Carolina*, p. 40. A "paper college" called Alexandria was chartered in 1787.

[92] Meriwether, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

ing of the college in the 'thirties was the problem of discipline. Students were rowdy and demonstrated great ingenuity in devising means for tormenting the faculty. Indeed, the unruly conduct of students and the administration of corrective measures was a perpetual nightmare for the professors. The problem became so acute at times as to paralyze instruction. Punishment at the College of Charleston consisted of detention, private and public admonition and, in the preparatory department, personal chastisement. A daily record of the conduct of each student was kept subject to inspection by parents; and, as a further aid to proper conduct, scriptural injunctions applicable to youth were iterated by the faculty when the occasion seemed propitious.[33]

The South Carolina College, established and supported by the State, was, perhaps, from the standpoint of faculty, one of the most distinguished institutions of higher learning in the Old South. For admission to the freshman class in 1827, a candidate was required to write a legible hand, spell correctly, possess an accurate knowledge of English, Latin and Greek grammars. He must also be able to translate into English with facility and correctness Caesar's Commentaries, the whole of Virgil's Aeneid, and from the Greek the four evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles. In addition, a working knowledge of arithmetic, including vulgar and decimal fractions, was exacted. The course of study was made more varied and comprehensive through the years, including, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Cooper, a course in the new science of Political Economy.

Dr. Cooper was a champion of states' rights and a nullificationist of the first water; accordingly, students under his tuition were imbued with notions of the exalted position of the states in the Federal Union, and with the social and economic soundness of the institution of Negro slavery. To just what extent the political and economic principles expounded by Dr. Cooper were responsible for the leadership of South Carolina in the secession movement is a matter of conjecture; but there can be little doubt that the emphasis placed upon the study of Political Economy in the College was in considerable degree responsible for the uncommon interest displayed by South Carolinians in state

[33] "Report of the Faculty to the Standing Committee of the Trustees of the College of Charleston for the Collegiate Year Ending Nov. 30, 1831," p. 3.

and national affairs. As evidence of the interest of the student body in political action, the group organized in 1851 a Southern Rights Association and issued a fiery address to the students of other Southern colleges, calling upon them to respond to the program of the Southern Nationalists.[34]

It is an undoubted tribute to the intellectual fairness of South Carolinians that Francis Leiber, with his forthright nationalist political philosophy, was permitted to expound his theories of government to the sons of Carolina. Leiber was no doubt discreet and too much occupied with writing to offend the sensibilities of his students and the people at large. His sojourn in South Carolina, he termed his "literary exile"; and, when the opportunity came to go to Columbia University, he sold his slaves and accepted the new position with alacrity. The fact that Leiber with his nationalism was retained at the South Carolina College is but another proof of the assertion that the South was "hospitable to individuals and critical of institutions."

The faculty of the South Carolina College sustained a reputation for erudition and for insisting upon high standards of scholarship. So caustic a critic as Basil Hall remarked that the professors were learned and the examinations strict.[35] William R. Davie of North Carolina asserted that a place on the faculty was much prized and eagerly sought.[36] Perhaps the salaries, generous for the times, serve as a partial explanation for the competition for appointments. However that may be, it is singularly true that a professorship in the College conferred prestige.

Despite the caliber of the faculty and the high quality of instruction, the South Carolina College was subjected to almost constant stricture. The location was criticized on the score that Columbia was "illy supplied with provisions and so unhealthy that students cannot remain there more than eight months in the year."[37] Another fruitful source of criticism was the deep-seated conviction that it was unfair to tax the poor people to educate the sons of the wealthy. Joseph Grisham (or Gresham), in airing his views on public questions in the *Pendleton Messenger,* stated

[34] *The Southern Patriot,* June 27, 1857.

[35] Hall, Basil, *Travels in North America,* II, 188.

[36] Gilpatrick, D. H., *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816,* p. 143. In 1839 the president of the South Carolina College was paid $3,000 and the professors $2,500 per year. Statutes at Large, XI, 9.

[37] A letter by "Salus Publia" in the *Southern Chronicle,* Apr. 23, 1823.

bluntly that he was opposed to the existence of the South Carolina College. "I do not believe it is right," he wrote, "to collect money from the poor to build, endow, and support colleges to educate rich men's sons. I do not wish to see money taken from the people without distinction and applied to the benefit of one class and the one best able to protect and support itself."[38] This Up-Country gentleman, however, endorsed the free schools on the ground that they were democratic and advanced the best interests of the country. The impression that the South Carolina College was aristocratic in character was widespread, especially in the Up-Country. The editor of the *Southern Patriot* (Greenville) stated categorically that the South Carolina College was established for the sons of the rich, while the free schools were founded for the poor.[39] The deportment of Low-Country gentlemen at the South Carolina College sometimes lent occasion and even cause for the impression that the College was aristocratic in character. John Townsend of Bleak Hall, Edisto Island, matriculated accompanied by his body-servant, "Daddy Sam," who remained in the capacity of valet.[40] Dueling, an aristocratic diversion, was in evidence; and the ideals of the College were those of the planting and professional classes. There was, nevertheless, a place in the College for sons of the poor; and, true to aristocratic traditions, they were always treated with courtesy and consideration by the well-born.

Doubtless, the most devastating criticism of the College arose in connection with its alleged propagation of infidel views.[41] The charge that the institution was a "hotbed of infidelity" was based largely on a series of lectures given annually by Dr. Thomas Cooper on the "Authenticity of the Pentateuch," in which the lecturer took issue with the prevailing opinion concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch and refuted what he considered grievous forms of theological error. Dr. Cooper's views, so openly expressed, brought him under the condemnation of the orthodox. So

[38] Reprint from the *Pendleton Messenger* in the *Mountaineer*, Aug. 11, 1832.

[39] *Southern Patriot*, Aug. 1, 1851. Many planters sent their sons to Princeton and Yale. The best law schools were in the North and, as the study of law was greatly esteemed in the South, Southerners matriculated in considerable numbers at Northern colleges.

[40] Leiding, Harriette Kershaw, *Historic Houses of South Carolina*, p. 158.

[41] The College was also attacked as being sectarian. See *Daily Telegraph*, June 4, 1850.

pronounced was the storm of criticism that the House of Representatives was moved to pass a resolution calling upon the Board of Trustees to investigate Dr. Cooper's teachings. In consequence of this resolution he was tried for heresy; but, due to his own able defense of his teachings, he was acquitted by the Board of Trustees. His enemies, disappointed at the outcome of the trial, continued to denounce him with such vehemence that in 1834 he severed his connection with the College. The reputation which the South Carolina College thus acquired for disseminating "infidel views" lingered in the public mind long after Dr. Cooper had passed out of the picture, greatly prejudicing the public against state-supported schools. The editor of the *Mountaineer* stated in 1835 that the College was in a fair way of recovering its former standing—"if it is expected to flourish," he continued, "we would warn the trustees as well as every friend of the College and of our country against employing the former president, Dr. Thomas Cooper, for he appears to have been the prime cause of the downfall of nearly everything he has attempted, including the College. We have frequently heard parents remark that they would rather bury their sons than have them educated where there is a possibility for them to imbibe his principles."[42]

In order to placate the opposition, upon Dr. Cooper's resignation, the College was reorganized and a Chair on the Evidences of Christianity and Sacred Literature established.[43] Under the trusted leadership of William C. Preston and James H. Thornwell, the South Carolina College regained much, if not all, of its former prestige, enrolling in 1849 over 230 young men from all parts of the State. Governor John P. Richardson asserted in his annual message to the General Assembly in 1842 that the South Carolina College "conferred incalculable benefits on the State. The benefits of a single year, the attainments of a single class, the acquirements of only one of its ripe scholars, the fruits of a single of these great minds whose energies it has developed—is immeasurably more valuable to the State than the results of all other benefactions to advance the progress of education."[44]

What Basil Hall described as "the enterprising uncontrollable spirit of Southern gentlemen" was primarily responsible for the

[42] *Mountaineer,* June 13, 1835.
[43] Green, E. L., *A History of the University of South Carolina,* p. 44.
[44] *Mountaineer,* Nov. 29, 1842.

chronic disorder and occasional riots which disturbed the peace and dignity of the campus. When Augustus Baldwin Longstreet accepted the presidency of the South Carolina College in 1857, his friend, James L. Petigru of Charleston, advised him that the College had "never been remarkable for the docility of our youth to the restraints of authority."[45] Longstreet never had any occasion to question the truth of this statement. Dissatisfaction on the part of students with the food served at the Commons was so rife at times as to cause Dr. Thomas Cooper to remark that the College was "in yearly jeopardy of being destroyed by disputes about eating."[46] Student demonstrations and protests rising at times to the point of boycotting the professors suggest not only an "uncontrollable spirit," but also a magnified conception of individual rights keenly sensitive to any conduct which remotely appeared to impugn the honor or motives of any member or members of the student body.

The South Carolina Military Academy at Charleston and the Arsenal at Columbia, chartered by the General Assembly in 1842[47] for serving the double purpose of guarding the arms deposited at Charleston and Columbia and of affording a broad practical education for the cadets, represented an expression of a martial spirit which impregnated the entire State. Ostensibly, these military schools were but the extension of an arrangement whereby students were substituted for enlisted men in guarding the arms assembled in anticipation of an armed conflict between South Carolina and the Union.[48] The State had a militia system (not so well regulated) and the South Carolina Military Academy would train officers to lead the militia in any crisis wherein the State felt impelled to make a show of force. Richard Yeadon, Esq., of Charleston, in an address on the necessity of subordination in our academies and colleges, urged that military schools in the State be more generously supported. To quote:

The nature of our institution of domestic slavery and its exposure of us to hostile machinations, both at home and abroad,

[45] Wade, J. D., *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet,* p. 315. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

[46] Meriwether, *op. cit.,* p. 157.

[47] One other institution of higher learning, the Medical College of South Carolina, opened its doors to students in 1824.

[48] See "Sketch of the South Carolina Military Academy" by H. A. Gaillard in the *Year Book City of Charleston, 1892,* (Appendix).

render it doubly incumbent on us and our whole sisterhood of Southern States to cherish a military spirit and to diffuse military science among our people—. Thus prepared and harnessed for conflict, should conflict come either from "higher law" traitors to the Union and the Constitution at home or from foreign foes, the South may defy the world in arms.[49]

When South Carolina was ripe for secession about 1850, Governor Seabrook recommended the establishment of depots for military stores and instruments of war at Anderson, Spartanburg and Marion. Each depot was to be placed in charge of a limited number of young men to be commanded by a graduate of The Citadel,[50] who was to instruct them in the art of war.[51] Such elaborate military preparations were not needed to keep the slaves in subjection. The only satisfactory explanation is that the leaders in South Carolina wished to be able, if necessary, to exert force in causing the "sovereign rights" of the State to be respected.

Religious denominations in South Carolina quite early gave attention to the founding and maintenance of theological seminaries for the training of ministers. They also helped to support a few preparatory schools which generally combined classical and theological training.[52] The religious denominations, with the exception of the founding of Erskine College in 1839,[53] did not enter the field of higher literary education until the early 'fifties. The reasons for the belated entry of the denominational college are not easily ascertained, unless, as in the case of Erskine, the State was reluctant to charter rivals of the South Carolina College. A factor which may have been operative was the emphasis which the preparatory schools and the colleges placed upon religious instruction and exercises. This factor was discounted sharply when the

[49] *Self-Instructor,* March, 1854, p. 153.

[50] Name given the South Carolina Military Academy.

[51] Thomas, J. P., *History of the South Carolina Military Academy,* p. 64. Governor Seabrook recommended the establishment of a third military academy in the upper districts of the State. *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[52] The Cokesbury Conference School at Cokesbury, founded in 1835, was founded and supported by the Methodists primarily for the education of ministers and sons of ministers. See Shipp, A. M., *Methodism in South Carolina,* p. 563. The Academical and Theological Seminary, established at Edgefield in 1827 by the Baptists, led for many years an itinerant existence. In 1851 the school was moved to Greenville and given the name of The Furman University. See McGlothlin, W. J., *Baptist Beginnings in Education,* pp. 64 ff.

[53] Erskine College at Due West, founded in 1839 by the Presbyterians.

South Carolina College under the presidency of Dr. Thomas Cooper acquired a reputation for spreading unorthodox beliefs concerning the Holy Scriptures. The Presbyterians, in order to steer their sons away from "a hotbed of infidelity," projected the Literary and Theological Seminary of the Presbytery of South Carolina. This institution (to have been located near Pendleton) was designed to be a rival of the South Carolina College;[54] but, due to a lack of support, the literary college was dropped and the Theological Seminary was finally located at Columbia. The Baptists were moved in part to establish a college from a similar motive.[55]

Opposition to the State College at Columbia was not the only ground for the establishment of denominational colleges in South Carolina. Had this opposition been the impelling motive, surely denominational leaders would not have waited twenty years to erect colleges which were equipped to compete with the South Carolina College for patronage. It has been pointed out that the first concern of the denominational groups was to establish seminaries for educating young ministers. Later, they entertained the idea of founding colleges which would provide a "Christian education" in contradistinction to the type of secular education offered in the State College. The concept of "Christian education" involved instruction in the arts and sciences for young men and, to a lesser degree, for young women, with a pronounced emphasis on the orthodox Christian moralities and virtues. Not only was the intellect to be cultivated; but spiritual values were to pervade and to ennoble all instruction to the end that human character and endeavor be leavened with Christian attitudes and orthodox beliefs. This emphasis and these results, it was held, the State schools could not very well achieve. In order to realize these objectives, the denominational colleges generally employed as teachers men of great piety and learning, who divided their time between teaching and preaching. This worthy ideal of education would have taken form had Dr. Thomas Cooper never departed from his assigned task of teaching chemistry to question the authorship of the Pentateuch.

There were a few free schools of a kind in South Carolina

[54] Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 411-422.

[55] Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 95. The Episcopalians did not establish a literary college in South Carolina. After 1857 they generally patronized the University of the South at Sewanee.

before 1811,[56] established with a benevolent purpose and operated in keeping with the spirit and purpose which motivated the various societies of the State in opening the door of learning to orphans and other "indigent poor." The great interest of a few of the well-to-do in the moral and intellectual improvement of poor illiterates not only prompted early efforts at amelioration, but was responsible also in large part for the free-school act of 1811. The free-school movement came from above. The illiterate masses, while dimly perceiving the advantages to be derived from education, were too inarticulate to formulate a program which would arrest the attention of the upper social stratum. The law of 1811, espoused by the Hon. Stephen Elliott of Charleston, provided that the number of free schools in each election district should be equal to the number of members the district was entitled to send to the lower house of the General Assembly. An appropriation of $300 per year was made for each school, which made a total yearly expenditure for all free schools of about $37,000. The appropriation was kept around $37,000 annually, notwithstanding a substantial increase in attendance, until 1852, when it was raised to $74,000.[57] The schools were to be administered by local boards who served without pay. The law specifically stated that these schools should be open to all children; but, if more children applied than could be accommodated, the children of the poor and the orphans were to be given preference.

Professors Elliott and Thornwell, in their "Report on the Free School System to the General Assembly of South Carolina" in 1839, asserted that the public school system was established mainly for the benefit of orphans and other indigent children.[58] Therein lay the greatest defect of the enterprise. In the administration of the law in the Edgefield District, the School Commissioners ruled that poor orphan children and illegitimates be of

[56] McCrady, Edward, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, pp. 510-512. With reference to the free school established in Charleston in 1710, persons donating £20 to the school could nominate one scholar to be taught for five years.

[57] Thomason, J. F., *Foundations of the Public Schools of South Carolina* contains a good account of the rise of the public school system in South Carolina.

[58] *Bound Pamphlets,* University of South Carolina Library, V. 25. In some instances free-school funds were given to private schools with the provision that the private schools educate a certain number of poor children free of charge. See Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

the first class; that children of poor diseased persons who have not sufficient means be of the second class, and that children of poor but able-bodied persons whose property, if men, was valued at not more than $500, and, if women, $1,000, be of the third class.[59] It is evident that the scheme from the very outset was stigmatized by the shadow of charity. Long after this factor was recognized as a handicap, the myopic vision of the legislators prevented the taking of the necessary steps for relieving the free schools of the taint of charity. Had such steps been taken, however, it is doubtful whether the original impression could have been eradicated entirely.

It is interesting to note that the free schools received their initial support from the gentry of the Low-Country. This was no doubt due, in the first place, to the existence among the aristocrats of the Low-Country of a philanthropic regard for the unfortunate classes; and, in the next place, to the fact that the poorer classes were to be found in Charleston in larger numbers than elsewhere in the State.[60] Not only did the gentlemen of the Low-Country give the free schools their initial impetus, but they rallied to the support of these schools when their very existence was threatened. Captain William Crafts, Jr., in addressing the General Assembly in opposition to a bill to repeal the free-school act of 1811 said: "I am astonished at the opposition of the upper districts to the free schools—If we do abolish free schools, let the eagle be removed from over our head, Mr. Speaker. It is the image of a bird that lives upon light. It cannot endure darkness. Either shroud it in mourning or send it away."[61]

The free schools were operated on paper, at least, for the entire year and offered instruction in the elementary branches.[62] The act of 1811 prescribed that the three R's should be taught, together with such other branches as the Commissioners "may from time to time direct."[63] Attendance upon the free schools was

[59] *Edgefield Advertiser,* Feb. 13, 1840.

[60] Ramage, James, "Local Government and Free Schools in South Carolina," *Johns Hopkins University Studies,* I, No. 12, p. 32.

[61] *Year Book City of Charleston,* 1880, pp. 113-115.

[62] The term was divided into four quarters. See Record of the School Commissioners of the Parish of St. James, Santee, 1815-1825. In possession of David Doar, Sumter, S. C. The school year may have undergone subsequent change.

[63] Allston Report of 1847, p. 12. This report on the free schools was made by a committee appointed by the State Agricultural Society and

disappointing. The Report of the Committee on Education (1826) shows that there were 686 free schools in the State attended by 8,314 scholars.[64] By 1860 there were 757 free schools in the State with an enrollment of 8,277.[65] Despite the growing interest in education, there were 14,792 persons in South Carolina in 1860 over twenty years of age who could neither read nor write.[66] As compared to neighboring states this was not a condition which called for immediate scrutiny; at the same time the prevalence of ignorance among so large a body of the electorate indicated indifferent patronage of the schools.

Judged by the complaints of the people of the Up-Country regarding the distribution of school funds, the free schools were more prized in that area than in the Low-Country. It does not follow, however, that a clamor for a large share of the public money necessarily bespeaks a deep devotion to the object of expenditure. It is fairly obvious that the free schools of ante-bellum South Carolina suffered from condescension on the part of the propertied classes and from apathy on the part of the poor whom they were intended to benefit. Only the stalwart championship of C. G. Memminger, Stephen Elliott, James H. Thornwell and others of like mind, who were unwilling to see the State take a backward step, saved the free schools from stagnation and the State from an everlasting reproach. In 1843 Governor J. H. Hammond declared, "the free school system has failed." Its failure he attributed to the fact that "it does not suit our people and our government and it can never be remedied." He deemed it wise to abandon the free-school system and divert the free-school funds to the establishment and endowment of an academy in each District.[67] "It may be observed," wrote a contributor to *De Bow's Review,* "that the cause of popular education, strange as it may seem, is not one in South Carolina which politicians ambitious of

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referred to R. F. W. Allston. It is contained in a paper-bound copy of the Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly for 1847, pp. 210-228. Copy in the Library of the University of South Carolina.

[64] House Journal 1826, pp. 237-238. MS. in possession of the South Carolina Historical Commission.

[65] Statistics of the United States in 1860, p. 506. The figures cited may not be accurate, but they indicate a larger increase in enrollment for the free schools than for the private schools.

[66] *Ibid.,* p. 508. These figures do not include slaves.

[67] Governor Hammond's message to the General Assembly, Nov. 28, 1843, in the *Courier,* Nov. 30, 1843.

distinction are willing to take up. They shrink from the responsibility of proposing the taxation which it necessarily involves."[68] John H. Means wrote in 1852:

> I have endeavored during the past summer to inform myself thoroughly upon the subject of the free school system; but from the want of interest generally manifested, I have been able to collect but little information. There seems to be a general belief that it works badly except in the large cities.[69]

The reference to the success of the free-school system in large cities was directed chiefly at Charleston where, under the leadership of C. G. Memminger, W. J. Bennett, William Jervey, George Buist and Daniel Horlbeck, a graded common-school system was established in 1854 which enlisted the support and patronage of a wide clientele. "The Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Free Schools to the Citizens of Charleston" in 1857 contains the statement that there were 866 pupils in the free schools representing every stratum of society. The Commissioners declared that the schools had been swamped with students in excess of expectation.[70] C. G. Memminger was able to report in 1860 that the city had three large schoolhouses, capable of seating 2,500 students, two of which were in use, with the third building practically ready for occupation. There was also established in Charleston a normal school for young ladies (the first in the State), for supplying trained teachers for the common schools.

The unsatisfactory status of the free schools led to the appointment of investigating committees charged with the task of making a study of the administration of the law and of making a report of their findings, together with suggested changes for the improvement of the system to the General Assembly. These reports (1839 and 1847) called attention to the most serious defects of the school law and recommended changes in the interest of strengthening the school system. The most common causes set forth for the comparative failure of the system were (1) sparseness of population and the great extent of territory to be covered

[68] Reprint from *De Bow's Review* in the *Southern Patriot,* June 3, 1852.

[69] *Courier,* Nov. 24, 1852. Extract from Governor Means' message to the General Assembly.

[70] The *Report* was printed by Walker, Evans and Co., Charleston, 1857. In 1859 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools of Charleston was 2,786. They were instructed by forty-six teachers whose combined salaries amounted to $18,290. *Ibid.,* pp. 5-9.

with a limited appropriation, (2) carelessness of the poor about the education of their children, (3) "foolish pride" about the acceptance of a bounty, (4) aversion of the propertied classes to being taxed for the education of the poor, (5) absence of centralized control, (6) incompetent teachers.

Apropos of the incompetence of teachers, there seems to have been general agreement. In "the Report of 1830" it is noted that the teachers were, for the most part, incompetent, and, in many cases, were not required even to take an examination as a test of fitness. Governor Henegan, commenting on the free-school system in 1840, asserted that as a class the teachers of free schools "are grossly incompetent to discharge their high and sacred functions. So far as my observation extends they are ignorant and possess a very easy morality."[71] While this indictment may have been a bit severe, it, nevertheless, indicates a pitiable condition.

While the other causes mentioned as contributing to the ill success of the system were certainly germane, one should not overlook one other factor—the indifference of the socially prominent. The imputation of poverty which attendance upon the free schools carried, the poor quality of instruction and inadequate physical equipment, caused the well-to-do to patronize the more select and better-manned private schools. The aristocracy could scarcely be expected to support wholeheartedly a school system which, when brought to the point of efficiency, was fraught with democratic inferences detrimental to the ascendancy of the aristocratic minority. It should not, however, be forgotten that the aristocracy cradled the system, not for universal application, to be sure, for the benefit of the destitute classes. The infant was, therefore, labeled at birth with the stigma of benevolence, poorly nourished and frequently criticized for arrested development. Smaller wonder it never reached manhood.

What were, in general, some of the fruits of the combined educational efforts of ante-bellum South Carolina? Educational instruction inculcated a flair for embellished language and placed a premium on declamation and oratory. No school commencement was complete without several declamations or original orations, in the rendition of which young men displayed their histrionic ability after the manner of Cicero or Burke. Indeed, the declama-

[71] *Mountaineer*, Dec. 4, 1840. Extract from the Governor's message to the General Assembly.

tions and orations constituted the chief feature of the school commencements and it was there that young South Carolinians qualified for subsequent oratorical pyrotechnics in the State and national forums. Avery Craven asserts that public men in South Carolina were expected to speak on call.[72] The reason is obvious. In commenting on the anniversary oration of the Euphradian Society of the South Carolina College in 1850, the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

> The subject of his (the student's) address was "The Mind," a wide theme which gave full play to the discursive fancy of the orator and wide scope for the display of varied information. His manner was graceful but rather studied—an exuberance of imagination betrayed him into an excess of ornament. Yet this defect is far preferable to a barrenness of invention as the flowers of an overactive fancy are often succeeded at a maturer period by the products of a more refined reason, as the blossom always precedes the fruit.[73]

As a matter of fact, "the flowers of an overactive fancy" frequently adorned the written word long after the college senior had become a Fourth of July orator. The following is a fair specimen of the flowery and figurative prose which Southern writers affected, and which may be attributed fairly to the inspiration of classical writers:

> A short time and the toil of the husbandmen will be over. The fruits of this year's labor will be gathered in. Summer will have passed and gone; and autumn will mark the approach of that season when the birds no longer sing and the foliage is no longer green—when the winds like spirits in the air mute around their wizard tones and touch the trees with their magic wands, and the leaves leap as it were from the branches at the bidding of the winds and wheel with noiseless feet, like fairies, on the ground.[74]

One feels that there is some affectation here; yet, the melancholy fancy clothed with a wealth of rhetoric presents a picture which the modern stylist often fails to convey. Men and women of the Old South had leisure for writing and they wrote effusively, sometimes beautifully. Under the spell of the classical tradition, there appeared very little prose or poetry which displayed origi-

[72] Craven, Avery, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner,* p. 197.
[73] *The Daily Telegraph,* May 4, 1850.
[74] From *A Day on the Cooper River,* by Dr. John Irving, pp. 30-31.

nality in style, but a great deal which displayed originality in substance.

To some degree, instruction in the schools served as a vehicle of Southern nationalism. The agitation in the 'fifties for the use of Southern textbooks in Southern schools resulted in the writing by Southern authors of readers, arithmetics and spellers for Southern youth. These were strongly endorsed by the public prints.[75] The extent to which these texts were used is difficult to determine, but it is reasonable to suppose that many Southern teachers taught history, and perhaps other subjects, with the view of justifying Southern rights and institutions. At the South Carolina College, Dr. Thomas Cooper taught political economy so as to uphold the Southern position on the mooted question of state sovereignty; and it is a matter of record that John C. Calhoun's celebrated treatise on government was made a textbook by action of the General Assembly.[76]

Finally, it should be noted that the social ideals of the Old South were reflected in educational objectives. Pioneers in the educational field were not moved to challenge the established order. It was theirs to serve its ends and, if possible, cement more securely the bases of the social pattern in the framework of Southern polity.

[75] *Courier,* Jan. 7, 1851; *De Bow's Review,* XIII, 258-266.
[76] Meriwether, *op. cit.,* p. 162.

CHAPTER IX

CULTURAL PATTERNS

Aside from the schools and colleges which contributed to the enrichment of the cultural life of the State, there were other agencies which fostered appreciation of the best in dramatics, art, music and literature. While Charleston was pre-eminently the cultural center of South Carolina, it is nevertheless true that practically every town of consequence contained a group of congenial souls who by means of local organizations labored to focus and to satisfy the cultural aspirations of the community. An outlet was found in a library society, an agricultural society, or perhaps in a musical organization; more rarely, in a group for the production of amateur theatricals. The scope and character of the organization depended largely upon the interests of the community and the support, tangible and intangible, which could be enlisted.

Then, as now, frequent and urgent appeals were necessary in order to launch and to maintain community projects designed to raise the level of culture. Many projects never survived the period of incubation, others flourished for a season, and still others experienced a long and useful existence. Despite interruptions and defeats, the struggle for the enrichment of life was never allowed to succumb completely to public inertia.

Notwithstanding the scepticism and censure of the pious, the theatre provided from time to time entertainment of high quality in Charleston and Columbia. The Charleston Theatre, famous in the eighteenth century[1] for its offerings in the drama, continued with interruptions in the nineteenth century a repertoire which featured some of the most distinguished actors of America and Europe, including Booth,[2] Macready,[3] Hill,[4] Hackett,[5] Kean[6] and Mrs. Fitzwilliam.[7]

[1] See Willis, Eola, *The Charleston Stage in the Eighteenth Century.*

[2] Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852), English actor. Visited America in 1821.

[3] William Charles Macready (1793-1873), English actor. Visited United States in 1843-1844 and again in 1849.

[4] Frederic Stanhope Hill (1805-1851), American actor and playwright.

[5] James Henry Hackett (1800-1871), American actor.

[6] Charles John Kean (1811-1868), noted Irish actor.

[7] Fanny Elizabeth Fitzwilliam (1801-1854), English actress. Visited the United States in 1837.

The theatre season in Charleston might open at any time after October; but it was generally in full swing in February. February witnessed the height of the social season, when the planters and their families came to Charleston to see the races staged by the South Carolina Jockey Club and to attend the theatre, balls and parties. There were races by day and theatrical performances and dances by night. In 1850, for example, the Jockey Club attended the theatre in a body to witness "The Rivals" which the management by request presented for the entertainment of the group.[8]

Ordinarily, the theatrical bill included first a serious drama (usually a tragedy), then a farce, followed on occasion by a pantomime. When the theatre reopened in Charleston in 1822 "after the public had naught but monsters to engage attention," the management endeavored to change the program almost daily.[9] Charleston audiences were critical; and when celebrated actors visited the city, the theatre-going public attended successive performances in large numbers. The reception given Macready in January, 1844, when he appeared in "Hamlet," moved the editor of *The Rambler* to state with some warmth that the legitimate drama was coming back into esteem. "The drama," he opined, "stands once more redeemed."[10] More than two columns of the January fourth issue of *The Rambler* were devoted to a critical review of Macready's art. In like manner, Booth's appearance in Shakespearian roles in 1822 was hailed as a dramatic treat by the theatre-goers of Charleston.[11] In 1840 Charles John Kean appeared as Shylock in "The Merchant of Venice," followed closely by Mrs. Fitzwilliam in "The Widow Wiggins." In February and March of the same season the much-advertised Baron de Fleur gave a series of organ concerts. The season closed on May 18 after one of its most eventful runs.[12]

In the intervals between visits of celebrities, the management presented a variety program featuring professional dancers, magicians and operatic singers. Under the caption, "City Amusements," the *Charleston Courier* of November 10, 1851, noted the departure of the Monplaisir Ballet Troupe for New Orleans, and

[8] *Courier,* Feb. 7, 1850.
[9] *City Gazette,* Feb. 21, 1822.
[10] *The Rambler,* Jan. 4, 1844.
[11] *City Gazette,* Feb. 21, 1822. The theatre recessed for two weeks upon Booth's departure.
[12] *Courier,* Feb. 3, 1826; May 18, 1840.

also the departure of Adrien, the skillful magician. However, to offset the departure of "these dispellers of ennui, we have tonight at the Hibernian Hall the benefit concert to the Misses Sloman." At the theatre on the same evening the opera "Lucia di Lammermoor" was presented as the initial opera of the season. There were entertainments galore.

Curiously enough, the people of Charleston made a distinction between concerts given in the Hibernian or some other local hall and plays given by professional players on the theatrical stage. "There is," wrote the editor of the *Courier,* "always a respectable and intelligent portion of our community who do not attend theatres. Would it not be well worthy of the consideration of managers who engage these distinguished stars to bring them before the public sometimes through the medium of the concert hall? These assemblies are more popular and more dignified."[13] The editor was of the opinion that the concert hall was destined to supersede the stage for operatic performances.

At only one other point in the State, Columbia, did the theatre attract nationally famed actors. It appears that players on the Southern circuit proceeded southward by way of Charleston and Savannah and returned northward by way of Augusta and Columbia. There were, of course, exceptions to this arrangement.

A theatre was opened in Columbia in 1822;[14] but its career was doubtless chequered, as a new theatre under the management of a Mr. DeCamp was opened amid much fanfare November 18, 1830.[15] On the opening night the audience witnessed a comedy, "Laugh When You Can," and a farce. Between the comedy and the farce, "The Prize Address" on the drama, written by M. D. Richardson of the senior class of the South Carolina College, was "spoken" by Mr. Essender.[16] Outstanding among the professional players who appeared on the Columbia stage in 1830 were Messrs. Cooper[17] and Hamblin,[18] Mr. and Mrs. Blake[19] and Miss Clara

[13] *Ibid.,* Feb. 27, 1851.

[14] *Southern Chronicle and Camden Gazette,* Nov. 6, 1822.

[15] *Southern Times and State Gazette,* Nov. 15, 1830.

[16] *Ibid.,* Nov. 23, 1830.

[17] Thomas A. Cooper (1776-1849), English actor and theatrical manager. Made his American debut at Baltimore, 1796.

[18] Thomas Sowerby Hamblin (1800-1853), English actor and theatrical manager. Made his American debut at Park Theatre, New York, 1825.

[19] William Rufus Blake (1805-1863), Canadian-born. Made his American debut at Old Chatham Theatre, New York, 1824.

Fisher.[20] All of these professionals were apparently northward bound after appearances in the coastal cities of the South. Apropos of Hamblin's fourth night in Columbia, the bill included "The Iron Chest or the Mysterious Murder," a tragedy, and concluded with a laughable farce, "The Rising Wind." The doors opened at half-past six and the curtain rose at a quarter-past seven. Miss Fisher's popularity in Columbia is attested by the fact that she played to Columbia audiences for two weeks in the spring of 1830 with a change of program every evening. Columbians were flattered that "the admired of a London audience should so exert herself for the entertainment of a few hundred persons."[21]

Inland towns such as Greenville and Spartanburg were visited fairly regularly by traveling companies of musicians and actors. Much use was made of local talent in the presentation of charades, tableaux, pantomimes and plays.[22] It is obvious that in the thinking of a great many good people the theatre was a school for scandal. Many people associated the stage with sensuality and vulgarity. The rather too-generous exposure of the persons of female ballet dancers, together with coarse jestings, sometimes in evidence, shocked the sensibilities of the conventional-minded and gave occasion for scathing criticism in the public prints. In 1838 the Reverend Thomas Smyth delivered a diatribe against the theatre, denouncing it as wasteful of time and money. He further charged that it encouraged the use of strong drink, excited "licentious imaginations" and indisposed one for prayer and the reading of the scriptures.[23] In consequence of this and other indictments of the theatre, patrons were constantly seeking to clear the institution of aspersions and insinuations designed to bring it into dis-

[20] Clara Fisher (1811-1898), English actress. Moved with her family to the United States in 1827.

[21] *The Southern Times* (Columbia), May 3, 1830. Miss Fisher came from Savannah and Augusta to Columbia. Upon leaving Columbia, she and her company played at Camden to enthusiastic audiences. *The Southern Times* of Apr. 8, 1830, contains an account of Miss Fisher's itinerary.

[22] A form of entertainment which proved popular was that of exhibiting illuminated figures on canvas. Peale's Court of Death, among others, was supposed to make a strong moral impression. See *City Gazette,* Jan. 15, 1822. De Veux's Diorama of the Mexican War was also considered impressive. See *Daily Telegraph,* Apr. 12, 1848.

[23] *The Theatre, A School of Religion, Manners and Morals,* by the Rev. Thomas Smyth, p. 50. The editor of the *Southern Times,* Apr. 22, 1830, in commenting on "The Stranger," a play recently produced in Columbia, declared "a few plays like 'The Stranger' might prepare our citizens to regard adultery as a venial offence."

repute. For instance, a correspondent of the *Southern Times* in admonitary vein made the following suggestion to the theatrical corps:

> On the stage be fastidiously modest in look, gesture, and word. Let nothing escape you directly calculated to raise a blush on the cheeks of your female auditors. There can be no apology for indecency of expression. This observation is not made because it can well be said to apply to any of the performers of the last night, but as an admonitory hint to them to beware of an evil which elsewhere is rapidly impairing the moral worth of their profession.[24]

Vocal and instrumental concerts filled an important place in the social calendar of a cultured community. At school commencements, students of the pianoforte regaled the public with musical exercises; and, in the homes of the well-to-do,[25] young ladies played both classical and popular numbers for admiring friends and relatives. The titles of some of the popular numbers, which dealt mainly with the theme of love, sound strangely modern. For example: "O Sing Once More That Melody," "Will You Love Me Then as Now," "Yes, I Have Dared to Love Thee," "You Cannot Doubt My Love."[26] Such ardent and romantic melodies enjoyed a great vogue among young people whose cultural level enabled them to revel in polite musical rhapsody. Ballads, such as "The House Carpenter" and "Sweet William," echoed through the backwoods to the accompaniment of banjo and fiddle. For lighter moods, the ballad and drinking songs found expression; but for solemn and worshipful moods, the doleful hymn brought solace to those in the humble walks of life as well as to those of high degree.

Fraser, in his well-known *Reminiscences of Charleston,* states that a love of music was an early characteristic of the people of Charleston.[27] It is certainly true that Charleston offered the largest opportunity for the development of musical taste and musical organizations. In this city eminent musicians appeared in concert, presenting the works of outstanding composers. As a result of a pronounced interest in music, music lovers in Charles-

[24] *Southern Times and State Gazette,* Dec. 31, 1830.

[25] Pianos were found only in the homes of people of wealth and refinement.

[26] See advertisement of George Oates, music dealer, in the *Courier,* Feb. 4, 1850.

[27] Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences of Charleston,* p. 59.

ton organized the St. Cecilia Society in 1784. For many years after its organization, this famous society gave concerts which were considered musical treats of the first order, well attended and generously encouraged. After about 1822, dancing assemblies were substituted for musical concerts;[28] in consequence, the St. Cecilia Society has subsequently rendered homage to Terpsichore rather than to Euterpe.

Besides the St. Cecilia, there appeared in the city a number of choral and instrumental musical organizations which from time to time gave public concerts. The Union Harmonic Society gave its annual concert January 29, 1822. Lovers of sacred music were invited to attend and hear selections from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, along with selections from the Oratorio of the Intercession by M. P. King.[29] The Charleston Harmonic Society announced its third "grand vocal and instrumental concert" at the Hibernian Hall October 9, 1843, admitting adults for fifty cents and children at half-price.[30] In 1853 the Charleston Philharmonic Society was incorporated for the promotion of a cultivated taste for music and for the development of native musical talent.[31] So much prized were musical concerts that the City Council of Charleston voted the sum of four hundred dollars to provide public concerts on the Battery during the summer of 1852.[32]

Not infrequently, troupes of professional performers visited the city; and occasionally singers of great renown appeared before large and appreciative audiences. Perhaps no event in the musical history of Charleston excited greater interest than the visit of the celebrated Jenny Lind in 1850. So widely advertised was Miss Lind's concert that people came from Georgia to Charleston to hear the "Swedish Nightingale." According to the *Charleston Mercury,* the great prima donna was greeted at first with less enthusiasm than she was accustomed to receive.

> The chilliness of the audience seemed in some degree to be imparted to the singer; but this was of brief duration. As the feelings of her hearers melted under her thrilling tones and found vent in irrepressible bursts of enthusiasm, a genial smile illumined her features and gust after gust of delicious melody was poured forth with a joyousness and abandon that thrilled and enchanted her audience.[33]

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 61.
[29] *City Gazette,* Jan. 17, 1822.
[30] *The Rambler,* Oct. 9, 1843.
[31] Statutes at Large, XII, 209.
[32] *Courier,* Apr. 27, 1852.
[33] Excerpts from the *Charleston Mercury* in the *Edgefield Advertiser,* Jan. 2, 1851.

Additional light was thrown on the performance by the thrifty Charleston merchant, Jacob Schirmir, who noted in his journal that "Jenny Lind gave a concert evening of 28 for charitable purposes. $3444 received."[34]

On occasion musical celebrities visited Columbia. Mademoiselle Teresa Parodi, on a Southern tour, gave a grand concert in American Hall at Columbia on the evening of March 15, 1856. The announcement carried the statement that "Parodi and her troupe have met with brilliant success in New Orleans and Charleston."[35] Outside of Columbia and Charleston, musicians of more than local importance rarely appeared. The Up-Country suffered from a dearth of professional talent, but enjoyed, nevertheless, musical entertainment provided by individuals and groups who found small but appreciative audiences to support deserving efforts. For example, we find that Mrs. Hutchings and Messrs. Hutchings and Johnson of the Columbia Theatre gave two concerts at "Newberry Court House" in 1830[36] and that Mr. and Mrs. Norton and Miss Richardson gave a concert of vocal and instrumental music in the Camden Hotel at a somewhat earlier date.[37] Such performances served to enliven and to enrich the life of towns where social activity was confined largely to conventional grooves.

Art,[38] unlike music, made a limited appeal. Its appreciation was confined to those of cultivated tastes. In the hope of developing appreciation for the fine arts in Charleston, Joel R. Poinsett in 1820 or 1821 helped to establish an Academy of Fine Arts "on the south side of Broad Street." The building not only housed works of art, but also a small museum. An exhibition was held in 1823. After 1825, however, the institution ceased to function.[39] In the late 1830's a society for the patronage of Art and Design was founded, supported by a small annual subscription. An effort was made to enlist popular support; but, as was the case with most popular ventures in the field of art, the community

[34] Schirmir Journal, Dec. 29, 1850.

[35] *Daily Carolina Times,* Mar. 14, 1856. The cost of admission to this concert was one dollar.

[36] *Southern Times,* Apr. 26, 1830.

[37] *Southern Chronicle and Camden Aegis,* Apr. 14, 1824.

[38] The term "art," as used here, connotes sculpture, painting, sketching, etc.

[39] Rippy, J. F., *Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile Statesman,* p. 198. The decline of the Academy was due to lack of public support and to litigation involving the title to the property.

failed to rally.[40] The Charleston Art Association, founded in 1857,[41] survived, however, to be accounted one of the most notable art associations in the South.

Many individuals sought to gratify a taste for art by purchasing famous paintings or by employing artists to execute portraits in oil. For example, Governor R. F. W. Allston commissioned the artist, Sully, to attend the sale of the Bonaparte Collection in Baltimore for the purpose of purchasing for him certain paintings.[42] The collection bought included two pictures of St. Peter in Prison, a St. Paul on the Isle of Melita, a Rembrandt, and a Gobelin tapestry, for which Allston promised to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars.[43] Governor James H. Hammond also possessed a valuable collection of paintings, which he lodged in his residence in Columbia in 1841. At a dinner party given by Hammond to distinguished friends, the guests were invited to inspect the paintings. "As usual," wrote Hammond, "I was wholly disappointed. . . . They gazed at them with the apathy of Indians. A few looked over the catalogue, but none seemed to feel them at all. It was throwing pearls before swine."[44] Thomas G. Clemson, while *chargé d'affaires* in Belgium (1844-1851), acquired about forty paintings which now hang on the walls of the Clemson College Library.

Portrait painters did a thriving business. No one can view the excellent oil paintings which adorn the old homes of cultured South Carolinians and escape the conclusion that large sums of money were expended in preserving family portraits. Outstanding among the portrait painters was James De Veaux of Charleston (1812-1844). He is said to have painted two hundred and forty portraits, mostly of South Carolinians. Mention should be made also of the superior craftsmanship of Charles Fraser, the Charleston miniaturist, and of William H. Brown, celebrated Charleston silhouettist.[45]

The study of art attained a wide vogue among young ladies of quality, many of whom achieved studies of merit; but the work

[40] *The Southern Rose,* Jan. 6, 1838.
[41] Wallace, D. D., *History of South Carolina,* III, 61.
[42] Pringle, Elizabeth W. Allston, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood,* p. 21.
[43] MS. in the Allston-Pringle Collection at the University of North Carolina. Item dated Oct. 29, 1847.
[44] Hammond Diary, Feb. 28, 1841.
[45] See Wallace, *op. cit.,* III, 61.

of only one South Carolina artist, Washington Allston,[46] received national recognition.

In the field of periodical literature, there were numerous ventures, most of which were short lived and financially unprofitable. The reading clientele was too limited and too indifferent to support adequately local journals concerned primarily with belles-lettres. It is probably true that the average reader of periodical literature in South Carolina deemed it his patriotic duty to subscribe to local journals; but, being persuaded that such English periodicals as *Blackwood's,* the *London Art Journal, Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review* eclipsed in prestige and importance the journals of Charleston, he neglected to renew subscriptions to the less pretentious home journals. It is a fact that the leading English periodicals were regularly received and sold in the bookshops of Charleston and Columbia. Moreover, despite the growing aversion of the Southern intelligentsia for things Northern, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* copiously illustrated, *Godey's Lady's Book,* with fashion plates in color and *Graham's Magazine,* with smart jacket, together with a number of other Northern publications, were received regularly in numerous homes through direct subscription. While home periodicals merited support, the dilettante as well as the discriminative reader must have at least a casual acquaintance with the foremost periodicals of America and Europe.

Throughout the ante-bellum period, Charleston was a publishing center of no mean importance. J. N. Cardozo, in his *Reminiscences of Charleston,* mentions twelve journals which were published in Charleston; but his enumeration does not exhaust the list.[47] The following journals are listed by Cardozo: *Gospel Messenger, Southern Christian Advocate, Southern Baptist, Southern Presbyterian, Catholic Miscellany, Southern Agriculturist, Medical Journal and Review, Masonic Miscellany, The Magnolia, Literary Gazette, Russell's Magazine* and *The Southern Review.* The leading literary journals were *The Magnolia*[48] (1839-1844), *The Southern Review* (1828-1832), *Southern Lit-*

[46] Allston spent most of his productive years outside his native state. He was born at Waccamaw, South Carolina, Nov. 5, 1779, and died at Cambridge, Mass., July 9, 1843. He studied at Rome, London, and Paris.

[47] Cardozo, J. N., *Reminiscences of Charleston,* pp. 35-39.

[48] First established in Savannah. Published in Charleston from 1842-1844.

erary Journal (1835-1839), *Southern Quarterly Review*[49] (1842-1856), and *Russell's Magazine* (1857-1860).

There were a number of less conspicuous, but meritorious, periodicals, including: *The Rambler,* published by Dr. John Irving (1843-1844); *The Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,* founded by William Gilmore Simms in 1845; *The Southern Literary Gazette; Occasional Reviews,* a political organ; *The Cosmopolitan,* a short-story magazine; *The Southern Rose,* a weekly for children; *The Schoolfellow,* a little magazine for children; and *Orion.*[50]

Without passing judgment on the relative merits of all the magazines published in Charleston, suffice it to say that *The Southern Review,* a quarterly, founded by Hugh S. Legare and Stephen Elliott, maintained throughout its brief career a high standard of literary excellence. The leading men of letters in the South contributed to its columns. *The Southern Quarterly Review,* under the management of William Gilmore Simms, achieved distinction in the field of current literature. Its leading articles and book reviews set a high standard in literary craftsmanship as well as in content. *Russell's Magazine,* edited by Paul Hamilton Hayne, and *The Southern Literary Journal,* edited by Daniel K. Whitaker, were excellent in many departments and deserved more liberal support. The impact of these Charleston periodicals upon the rank and file of the people was necessarily slight. Circulation was limited to a narrow circle; but, in so far as their contacts extended, the results were distinctly cultural.

Standing next in importance to Charleston as a publishing center, was Columbia. In 1851 Columbia was the home of four newspapers and two reviews.[51]

By 1850 there was a newspaper press in nearly every leading inland town. As a rule, these newspapers carried a dearth of social

[49] Published in Charleston from 1842-1855 and then removed to Columbia.

[50] *Compendium of the Seventh Census,* p. 155, tabulates seventeen newspapers and four periodicals in circulation in South Carolina in 1840. For a complete list of magazines published throughout the State in the ante-bellum period, see article by A. S. Salley in *The News and Courier,* Aug. 27, 1899. Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina,* is valuable.

[51] *Southern Patriot,* Dec. 25, 1851. See A. S. Salley's article in *The News and Courier,* Aug. 27, 1899. The newspapers were *The Carolinian,* published daily, tri-weekly, and weekly, *The Temperance Advocate,* the *Family Friend* and the *States-Rights Republican,* published daily, tri-weekly, and weekly.

items and a plethora of foreign and domestic news. They featured national political issues, the proceedings of the state legislature and accounts of local political and religious gatherings. In addition, attention was given to storms on land and sea, disastrous floods and other natural phenomena. In the absence of long editorials, the columns were open to correspondents, whose political tirades were not always calculated to clarify the political atmosphere.

The only newspapers in the State which achieved national recognition were published in Charleston. Of these the *Charleston Courier,* founded in 1803 and continued to the present in the *News and Courier,*[52] was the most well-balanced and influential. The editors of this paper were usually brilliant journalists, honored and respected for their sound judgment and mental acumen. One has but to mention Aaron Smith Willington, William Crafts, Richard Yeadon and William S. King to suggest that the paper was in able hands.[53] *The Charleston Mercury,* founded in 1822 by Edmond Marford, was speedily converted into a partisan sheet; and, under the proprietorship of R. Barnwell Rhett, it became in the decade just prior to the War for Southern Independence a violent advocate of states' rights. Its meteoric career closed in 1868.[54]

As a medium of culture, the newspaper was inferior to the magazine and, as a mirror of daily life, it lacked much to be desired; but it rendered a valuable service in disseminating information and in arousing interest in political issues.

Taste in reading among the men ran somewhat to the classics and to treatises on science, agriculture, history and philosophy. Ladies read novels, *Godey's Lady's Book* ("full of good stories, sweet poetry, and beautiful pictures"), religious works and the classics. This classification is, however, by no means meant to be rigid. A few men read novels; but the educated male never boasted of his conquests in the realm of melodramatic fiction.[55]

[52] The title of *Charleston Courier* was changed to *The Charleston Courier* in 1821. King, William L., *Newspaper Press of Charleston,* p. 109.

[53] James Gordon Bennett's connection with the *Charleston Courier* was brief. *Ibid.,* p. 111.

[54] Other secular Charleston newspapers were *The South Carolina Gazette,* discontinued in 1840; *The States'-Rights and Free Trade Evening Post; The Southern Patriot.*

[55] *The Winyaw Intelligencer,* Aug. 7, 1819, carries a debate on novel-reading.

The works of Scott and Thackeray were popular with both sexes, but Scott was different. He wrote of border warfare, tournaments and crusades, in which red-blooded men were heroes and helpless but lovely women were heroines. The chivalrous element in Scott made a powerful appeal to the gentry, who in large measure shared the knightly attitude towards ladies of quality. Every well-stocked library was likely to contain Scott's novels.

There is some indication that the intellectual tastes of ladies were directed towards light and romantic subjects by the attitude of the men. However that may be, it is certain that the makers of books catered to so-called feminine taste. A set of books entitled *The Young Lady's Library,* recommended by Governor B. F. Perry,[56] gave advice as to choosing one's friends and as to receiving company, and warned against engaging in gossip. Governor Perry wrote his wife: "I have bought a complete set of Bulwer's novels for the female library in 20 volumes."[57] Dora Mims, while in Charleston on a visit, listened to her Aunt Maria read aloud *The Lamplighter.* The young lady was so engrossed with the book that she declared it to be "one of the most entertaining books I have ever seen." As a sort of antidote to *The Lamplighter,* "Aunt Sara" lent her a book entitled *Thankfulness and Earnestness,* written by an Episcopal clergyman.[58]

While the reading of educated women was, as a rule, limited in scope, gentlemen browsed over a broader field. For example, T. J. Earle of Tigerville, after graduating from college, read Caesar and Virgil and "Macaulay's England," a general favorite. He also read *Heroines of the Missionary Enterprise,* Uphan's *Mental Philosophy* and Byron's *Childe Harold.*[59] Another Up-Countryman wrote: "Today I bought the life of T. P. Barnum—I anticipate great pleasure in reading the history of the man of humbugry. Tonight I have finished reading the *Explorations of Fremont in the Rocky Mountains.* I find it quite dull as a narrative, but interesting as history."[60]

An index as to what was read generally may be had by consulting the catalogue of books offered for sale by book dealers.

[56] Perry, Hext McCall, *Letters of My Father to My Mother,* p. 102.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] Dora Mims to the Rev. James S. Mims, Charleston, Apr. 15, 1854. Baptist Historical Collection.
[59] Diary of T. J. Earle. This reading was done in 1851.
[60] Harris Journal, Jan. 14, 1857.

In 1843, W. H. Berrett, on Broad Street in Charleston, offered the following miscellany for sale:

> Gallery of the British Artists in French and English, 4 volumes; Byron's Complete Works; Goldsmith's Miscellaneous Works; Moore's Complete Works; Hughes' History of England; Eustice's Classical Tour in Italy; Chalmers' Shakespeare; Milton's Paradise Lost; The Waverly Sketch Book; Selections from the Edinburgh Review; Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons; Roger's Italy; Hamel's French Grammar and Exercises. All from Bandry's celebrated press at Paris.

In addition, encyclopedias, a compendium on the veterinary art, German prose, current fiction and the complete works of Montaigne translated by Cotton.[61] Another dealer advertised Harper's Family Library No. 156; Godey's Lady's Book; Whitby, on the Testament; Jack Hinton, the Guardsman; Wheatly on the Common Prayer; Malcomb's Bible Dictionary; and an assortment of almanacs.[62] Still another dealer advertised numerous poetical works including the poems of Scott, Campbell, Milton, Byron and Eliza Cook.[63] The English authors appear to have been in the greatest demand. The absence of the ancient classics from the lists suggests that they were not in great demand, except as texts, or that they were available at the circulating libraries. It is barely possible that too much stress has been laid upon the popular appeal of the ancient classics. They were read in school; and then, doubtless, in most instances, carefully placed on library shelves to gather the dust of the passing years. Almanacs commanded a ready sale, especially among farmers and planters who laid great store by them as aids in planting.[64] All classes consulted them for weather forecasts and general information. Miller's Almanac, published in Charleston and sold for twenty-five cents a copy, was regarded as one of the best. It contained much information about the State, a list of fasts and festivals observed by the Protestant Episcopal Church, the time of the rising and setting of the sun and moon and a list of the chief national, state and city officials.

In the main, the literary figures of ante-bellum South Carolina were poverty stricken and somewhat detached from the orbit of the plantation civilization. The coterie of literary men[65] in

[61] *Courier*, Jan. 6, 1843.

[62] *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1843.

[63] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1843.

[64] Many farmers and planters planted certain crops when the moon was "right," *i.e.*, in a certain phase.

[65] This coterie included Henry Timrod and Paul Hamilton Hayne.

Charleston, headed by William Gilmore Simms, lived in poverty and comparative neglect, contributing to short-lived literary vehicles and doing hack-work to keep the wolf from the door. With a few exceptions, the sons and daughters of planters did not turn to strictly literary pursuits; neither did they support generously the efforts of those who sought to stimulate an interest in contemporary literature. South Carolinians were prolific pamphleteers in a variety of fields, but chiefly in the field of political controversy. Perhaps no state in the Union produced a greater body of pamphlet literature than South Carolina. Speeches, essays and sermons appeared year after year in pamphlet form for distribution at a small price or none, while the more conventional literary effusions became "a drug on the market."

The poets of South Carolina, sensitive to English literary standards, did not display much originality in form or substance. As a rule, the poets made no attempt to interpret the life of the State; and, with few exceptions, what they wrote was not of the soil nor of the people.[66] Poems too often dealt with melancholy themes such as unrequited love and death. Current magazines published poems with such dismal titles as "Breathings of the Melancholy Mind" and "The Voice of Solitude." By perusing such periodicals as *The Magnolia,* published in Charleston, one might easily gather the impression that most of the poets dwelt in lonely contemplation with minds suffused with thoughts of death and immortality. A few like Henry Timrod (1829-1867) and Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-1886) wrote verses which will endure as long as the true lyric is esteemed. In "The Cotton Boll," Henry Timrod sounded a new note in that it is almost the first Southern poem of local color.[67]

Prose writers were no less imitative in style and no less under the spell of the English influence; but many of them, like William Gilmore Simms who wrote romances of border warfare, and Dr. John Irving, author of *A Day on the Cooper River,* actually attempted to describe the life of the people. William Henry Trescott, the diplomat, and Hugh Swinton Legare, "the Charleston intellectual," were stylists of the first water. Legare's writings display such a wealth of classical learning and scholarship as to cause Parrington to pronounce him a linguist of distinction and

[66] *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* II, 289.
[67] *Ibid.,* II, 293.

one of the most widely read men in America.[68] As much, and perhaps more, than any other South Carolinian, Hugh S. Legare realized the ideal of a Southern gentleman and scholar.

John C. Calhoun, in some measure a product of the plantation civilization, in defending South Carolina's course in nullification, produced treatises on government which rank among the best works of their kind brought forth on the American continent. The political diatribes and essays on manners and conduct, whose number was legion, were ephemeral and deservedly so. Fulsome, ornate, and frequently pedantic, the prose specimens of the average writer suggest a stately lady in crinoline, walking with measured tread, while displaying on her person the ornaments of fashion.

In conversation, the educated South Carolinian was unusually effective. Perhaps, nowhere in the United States could an anecdote be told with more gusto and charm of style. The conversation might be punctuated here and there with expletives, especially if the conversationalist had imbibed freely of Madeira; but the general effect was irresistible. Curiously enough, the facile raconteur, upon taking pen in hand for formal composition, became a different person. Instead of the racy, natural conversational style, he affected the stilted, ornate style deemed altogether becoming in a man of letters. Hence the disparity in South Carolina between the spoken and the written word.

Just what percentage of the white people could read with understanding is not clearly ascertainable.[69] It is true, however, that each succeeding decade witnessed a gradual broadening of the circle of readers. A small number of people read magazines, a larger number read the newspapers and a still larger number read almanacs and the Holy Bible.

Many Low-Country planters and a few of the Up-Country planters possessed well-stocked libraries. According to the English traveler, Adam Hodgson, General Thomas Pinckney's home on the Santee River contained an excellent library of valuable British publications "and a more extensive collection of agricul-

[68] Parrington, V. L., *Main Currents in American Thought,* II, 115.

[69] The percentage of white illiterates above twenty years of age to total white population was given by the census of 1850 as 5.71, which made a good showing for a Southern state. Illiteracy in the same premises in North Carolina was 13.30 and in Virginia 8.60. Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 152.

tural works than I have ever seen before in a private library."[70] Governor Hammond's home, "Redcliffe," at Beach Island, contained a large library which was well supplied with the writings of republican statesmen.

There were many library societies and associations whose books were available to subscribers and, in some instances, to non-subscribers upon the payment of a small fee for each volume used. Fees collected from patrons were used to augment the collection of books. The Greenville Female Library Society, organized in 1825, contained in 1832 upwards of five hundred volumes. Among the late additions were complete sets of the Family Library, the Classical Library, the Cabinet Library, the Library of Select Novels, Life of Gouverneur Morris, Marshall's Life of Washington, Boswell's Johnson and Goldsmith's Animated Nature. Books could be taken out by visitors upon the payment of twelve and one-half cents per volume; the annual dues were two dollars.[71] The officers of the society complained of a lack of interest, citing as evidence that, out of a membership of fifteen, "scarcely a quorum was present at the last meeting."[72] There were library societies at Camden, Georgetown, Stateburg, Charleston,[73] Edgefield, Beaufort, Walterboro and, doubtless, elsewhere. A subscription library was established at Walterboro in 1820 and functioned for thirteen years. Feeble support caused the management in 1833 to close the library and to distribute the books among the subscribers.[74] It appears that Columbia did not possess a library association in January, 1856;[75] but an aroused group of Columbians, in March of 1856, met and organized an Athenaeum to be supported by popular subscriptions and annual dues.[76]

[70] Quoted in Harriette K. Leiding, *Historic Houses of South Carolina*, p. 101. By permission of the J. B. Lippincott Co., publishers.

[71] *Greenville Republican*, Mar. 29, 1828; *Mountaineer*, June 9, 1832.

[72] *Greenville Republican*, Mar. 29, 1828.

[73] The Charleston Library Society, founded in 1748, is the oldest library society in South Carolina. Concerning its origin and early growth, see article by Miss Anne King Gregoire in *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1935), pp. 3-11.

[74] The library was restored in 1866. See article by Miss Beulah Glover in *The Press and Standard* (Walterboro), Mar. 11, 1931. The present librarian has succeeded in recovering a great many of the original books.

[75] *Daily Carolina Times*, Jan. 23, 1856.

[76] *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1856. A few benevolent societies such as the Winyaw Indigo Society at Georgetown and the St. David's Society in the Welsh Neck accumulated valuable libraries in the prosecution of their educational programs.

In Charleston and the Low-Country, a number of literary clubs were organized for the purpose of promoting sociability and learning. Such a club was the "Conversazione," drawn from the intelligentsia of Charleston. The weekly meetings of the club, held in rotation in the homes of members, were devoted to the discussion of literary and scientific topics. Upon the conclusion of the literary colloquy, the group, in the bombastic language of the scribe, was regaled by a sumptuous entertainment "in which tempting viands mingled with sparkling wine and yet more sparkling wit load the hospitable board."[77] Other societies, like the Hibernian and the German Friendly, while not primarily literary, nevertheless did much to stimulate an enduring interest in Irish and German culture.

In a somewhat different category, the agricultural societies, of which the Pendleton Farmers' Society was the second oldest, by bringing together progressive farmers for an exchange of notes, clearly supplied an impetus to excel in the basic industry of the State.[78]

Located in the principal towns of the State were lyceums which imparted instruction through lectures and debates. The lyceum at Greenwood, typical, was organized with a paid membership, a constitution and officers elected annually. The chief object sought was advancement in science and literature through public lectures. In common with the lyceum at Greenville, the Greenwood group was attempting to make a collection of minerals and other natural curiosities.[79] A departure from the usual procedure was the establishment by the Georgetown Lyceum of a reading room at Indigo Hall, in which papers and magazines "from all over the United States together with the English reviews" were made available.[80]

Editors deplored the fact that public lectures were indifferently patronized; but invariably dilated with pride upon any considerable attention to public lectures as evidence of a growing interest in scientific and literary subjects. Such optimism was

[77] *Courier,* July 30, 1853. In Edgefield there was a philosophical society which purchased apparatus in Europe for illustrating the subjects. *Edgefield Advertiser,* Apr. 30, 1840.

[78] According to Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, there were twenty-six agricultural societies in South Carolina in 1842. *Edgefield Advertiser,* June 29, 1842.

[79] *Ibid.,* Apr. 27, 1842.

[80] *Courier,* June 10, 1859.

never justified. An observer who labored under no delusion as to the popular appeal of lecture courses wrote dejectedly: "People, nowadays as well as formerly, evince but little interest in public lectures when the subject matter conveys scientific and useful information. They bestow their patronage on monkey shows, theatres, and opera dances."[81] When William Makepeace Thackeray lectured in Charleston in 1853, the editor of the *Courier,* after acknowledging that "our community is critically epicurean and not disposed to run amuck after mere novelty," found cause for rejoicing in the fact that the distinguished lecturer was able to charm and hold together "such audiences as have attended him."[82]

Lecturers on scientific subjects received, as a rule, less encouragement than lecturers on literary topics. While the generality of the people were genuinely interested in natural phenomena and curiosa, as was attested by the establishment of the Charleston Museum in 1773 (visited to this day as a center of scientific interest), very few could be persuaded to pay for admission to a learned discourse on the progress of science and invention. When a celebrated archeologist, Mr. Gliddon, delivered two lectures in Columbia in 1848, the attendance was disappointing.[83] The fact that Mr. Richard's scientific lectures in Charleston "were popular and successful" was not an earnest of generous patronage. It was some consolation to the promoters, however, to announce that "the popular taste is advancing."[84]

For some reason, the impression prevailed in certain select circles that trade and commerce were the enemies of science and literature. In refutation of this view, the editor of the *Courier* remarked, when a noted lecturer was well received, that Charleston need not "fear the loss of her character for refinement and literary taste though commerce should make her streets slippery with soap grease or pile her wharves with pumpkins."[85]

[81] Quoted from the *South Carolinian* in the *Mountaineer,* Apr. 6, 1849.
[82] *Courier,* Mar. 25, 1853. [83] *Daily Telegraph,* Jan. 14, 1848.
[84] *Courier,* Feb. 3, 1851. For a searching view of the state of the natural sciences in the South, see Johnson, T. C., Jr., *Scientific Interests in the Old South.* [85] *Courier,* Mar. 25, 1853.

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH AND ITS AUXILIARIES

The religious scene in South Carolina in ante-bellum days was not essentially different from that in neighboring seaboard states. In the main, Episcopalians were concentrated in the Low-Country;[1] Baptists and Methodists were in evidence throughout the State, with a preponderance of numbers in the Up-Country; Presbyterians, less numerous than the Baptists and Methodists, were widely distributed; while Lutherans were largely confined to the German groups in the city of Charleston and the town of Walhalla and to the Districts of Newberry and Lexington.[2] There were Jewish congregations in Charleston, Georgetown, Sumter and Columbia and elsewhere in the trading centers.[3] The Roman Catholics, with fourteen churches, possessed accommodations in Charleston in excess of those for the rest of the State. Congregationalists, Friends and a few minor sects complete the picture.[4]

Church buildings varied in size and appearance from the stately and historic St. Michael's Church in Charleston to the crude log structures of the backwoods communities. The Episcopalians early evinced a predilection for architectural beauty in church edifices in both city and country.[5] Constructed of brick, parish

[1] In an historical sketch of Grace Episcopal Church of Camden, S. C., by the Rev. Edward Phillips, it is asserted that the ignorant settlers of the Back-Country regarded the Episcopal Church as an agency for propagating British ideas. Minute Book, Grace Episcopal Church, p. 151.

[2] The Germans were more tenacious of their religious affiliations than the Scotch-Irish of the Up-Country, who in large numbers gradually abandoned the Presbyterian Church for the fellowship of the Methodists and the Baptists.

[3] Elzas, B. A., *The Jews of South Carolina,* p. 166.

[4] The church census of South Carolina for 1850 as shown by the Compendium of the Seventh Census (p. 134) reveals that there were 413 Baptist, 1 Congregational, 72 Episcopal, 5 Free, 1 Friends, 8 Jewish, 41 Lutheran, 484 Methodist, 136 Presbyterian and 14 Roman Catholic Churches in the State. This list does not include the Huguenot Church in Charleston in which the service was rendered in French until 1828.

[5] The churches in Charleston of practically all denominations reflect the

churches of the Low-Country erected in the Colonial Period stand in many instances to this day like cameos set in emerald borders of venerable live oaks draped with Spanish moss.[6] Not all churches in the tidewater were pleasing in appearance; but outside of tidewater, with a few notable exceptions, the church buildings were more often than not plain rectangular wooden structures, with bare walls, homemade benches and with pulpits of the simplest design. The two church buildings at Conwayboro, Presbyterian and Methodist, were described by an English visitor, W. W. Malet, as "two long wooden buildings with green venetians and left windows," open seats and galleries for slaves.[7] The backwoods country churches, according to Olmsted, were constructed of logs or rough boards.

A service at one of the "cracker" churches which Olmsted attended presented some singular and interesting features. The slaves were seated in the gallery, while the whites occupied the main floor. The discourse, by an uneducated preacher, was extemporaneous, and consisted, in the main, of a picturization of the terrors of hell into which the unsaved were cast before the very eyes of their relatives and friends. During the service people were going out and coming in, babies were crying and crawling about the floor with food in their hands, while just outside the building there was much conversation, neighing and braying.[8] The bedlam described by Olmsted was probably exaggerated, but it must be admitted that in backwoods churches the service was characterized by a lack of formality. Songs, which engaged much time and attention, were generally led by a local hymnologist whose only musical aid was a simple tuning fork. Some song books contained hymns without musical notation, while others of a more popular variety, such as *Southern Harmony,* were compiled with shape notes which the musical portion of the congregation memorized in "singin' school."[9] The Presbyterian service at Conwayboro consisted of the singing of a hymn led by an elder, a prayer

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taste and refinement of the people. After all, the determining factor in church architecture was the measure of the taste of the congregation.

[6] Goose Creek Church in the Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, is one of the finest examples of early rural church architecture.

[7] Malet, W. W., *An Errand to the South,* p. 44. Conwayboro, now Conway, is in the coastal plain.

[8] Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States,* pp. 452-453.

[9] Jackson, G. P., *White Spirituals in Southern Uplands,* p. 56.

by the minister, the reading of a psalm and then another hymn. Following these preliminaries, the minister delivered the sermon which was followed by a prayer and a hymn, concluding the service.[10] The order of service in this village of about 350 people was followed with some variation in the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches throughout the State. The Episcopal and Roman Catholic services were more formal, dignified and standardized; and, accordingly, not calculated to appeal to social groups in which frontier attitudes were strongly marked.

Intelligent congregations were served by ministers of piety and learning; backwoods congregations were served, as a rule, by well-meaning but unlettered exhorters. One of the prime objects of every denomination, however, was to provide a better-trained and more godly ministry. The Charleston Baptist Association in 1818 despatched a circular letter concerning the character of the Baptist ministry to all the churches within its jurisdiction containing the following significant statement: "Men should not ordinarily be sent out to preach without going through a course of studies as will fit them to stand as intelligent witnesses of God's truth and to communicate real instruction to both saints and sinners."[11] Further evidence of the concern of the denominations for providing a trained ministry is seen in the brave efforts made by them to found and support theological seminaries in South Carolina and adjacent states. On the whole, the requirements for ordination in the Episcopal Church were probably higher than those prescribed by other Protestant denominations for admission to the ministry. In consequence, the Episcopal Church in the 'twenties suffered from a dearth of clergymen.[12] Due to less exacting intellectual tests for acquiring the cloth, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations were better provided with ministers of the gospel.

While earnest and devout clergymen were everywhere accorded great respect by the generality of the people, one cannot subscribe wholly to a statement of the English clergyman Malet that "great respect was everywhere paid to all ministers of the gospel."[13]

[10] Malet, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[11] Circular Letter prepared by the Charleston Baptist Association at its meeting at the High Hills of Santee, Oct. 31, 1818. Baptist Historical Collection.

[12] Dalcho, Frederick, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pp. 553-559.

[13] Malet, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Early Methodist ministers were subjected to much ridicule in Columbia, where students once released a live goose in the meeting house.[14] According to James Jenkins, one of the most celebrated of the early Methodist ministers, the resident minister at Society Hill (denomination unknown), used his influence to have the society of Methodists expelled from the town. In spite of opposition, the Methodists maintained their precarious position at Society Hill until some wag "fenced up the road leading to the church."[15] The itinerant Methodist preachers were a strange lot in that they wore costumes of a queer cut, brushed their hair downward and foreswore beard and suspenders.[16] Their zeal for the pure life led them to condemn unsparingly intemperance, cockfighting, dancing and attendance on theatres and circuses. Notwithstanding the ridicule of which they were victims, Methodist ministers, in time, by the display of great zeal and piety, came to be regarded as true messengers of the gospel.

Salaries were so meager, especially in the rural districts, as to force a minister to serve several churches in rotation and, in addition, to pursue some worldly occupation, usually farming, to supplement the dribbles received from the churches. The Reverend James Jenkins farmed and served several churches near Camden. "I had to work hard in my crop," he wrote, "but did not neglect to call sinners to repentance."[17] Olmsted states that country churches paid their pastors an annual salary of $150 to $200.[18] Poorly paid ministers in the rural districts found time, however, to minister to the spiritual needs of the afflicted in soul and body, to officiate at weddings and funerals and to take the initiative in reconciling brethren at variance. Churches in sizeable towns and in Charleston paid salaries which enabled a clergyman to rear a family in comfortable circumstances. For example, the Bethel (Presbyterian) Church at Walterboro paid the pastor an annual salary of $1,000 in 1827, but reduced the salary, upon calling a new pastor, to $800.[19] A few of the older churches of the Low-Country were endowed with goods or money or both; and, besides, realized a substantial revenue from the sale or rental of pews.

[14] Wade, J. D., *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet,* p. 105.
[15] Jenkins, James, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings,* p. 185.
[16] Wade, *op. cit.,* p. 106.
[17] Jenkins, *op. cit.,* p. 170.
[18] Olmsted, *op. cit.,* p. 452.
[19] Shaffer, E. T. H., *History of the Bethel Presbyterian Church,* Walterboro, South Carolina, pp. 15 ff.

The Bethel Church at Walterboro owned a plantation and slaves. While these goods may not have proved a source of steady revenue, the sale or rental of pews yielded a small but steady income. The Register of Christ Church Parish indicates that in 1837 Christ Church owned 110 shares of bank stock in addition to stock in insurance companies and mortgages on real estate.[20]

Protestant churches generally supported Bible societies, Sunday Schools, domestic and foreign missions, religious publications and education. The Bethesda (Presbyterian) Church of Camden contributed annually to domestic and foreign missions the sum of one hundred dollars divided equally between the two causes. This church also helped to support the Theological Seminary at Columbia, the American Bible Society, the Sunday School Union, the Camden Sunday School, the Commissioners' Fund to the General Assembly and a denominational paper.[21]

Services in the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches were usually long and, as regards the Methodist, accompanied by "shouting" and other emotional demonstrations. Dr. John Logan, of the Abbeville District, recorded in his diary that on Sunday, February 22, 1857, he listened to a sermon of an hour's duration, and that on Sunday, June 28, the sermon alone lasted for one hour and twenty minutes. Favorite sermon topics were repentance, damnation, fasting and prayer and the millennium. Judging from the number of sermons announced to be delivered on the millennium, this subject filled a large place in the thinking of the religious-minded. Fasting and prayer were observed whenever drought, famine or disease plagued any considerable portion of the people. On occasion, indifference of church members was considered sufficiently alarming as to call for a fast day. The Reverend John McLees noted that he preached at Rock Church and observed fast day "appointed by our Presbytery in consequence of a low state of piety."[22] Apropos of a prolonged drought, the minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association contain the following resolution:

Resolved that the exhibition of divine judgement which has been so awfully made this year in the severe drought of summer,

[20] Register of Christ Church Parish, p. 318. MS. in custody of the South Carolina Historical Society.

[21] Minute Book, Bethesda (Presbyterian) Church, Camden, S. C. MS. in possession of Mr. Laurens Mills, Camden, S. C.

[22] McLees Diary, Nov. 20, 1847.

the excessive rains of autumn, the overwhelming floods on several of our principal rivers, the ravages of pestilential disease in Charleston, and the devastation of the late tremendous hurricane through an extensive region of our country be considered as loud calls in Divine Providence on us and the whole community for the exercise of humility and prayer. Therefore to our fellow citizens at large the last Tuesday in February next to be observed as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting and prayer. . . .[23]

Frequent resort to fasting and prayer to placate the wrath of the Creator and to promote individual humility suggests a deep reliance upon the mercies of God and faith in personal abnegation. Conversion in the Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, according to John Belton O'Neall, involved a great mental and physical ordeal. The churches were provided with "mourners' benches" to which those convicted of sin came in the presence of the congregation and wrestled with their disturbed consciences, "seeking the light of personal salvation." A person under conviction would oftentimes return to the mourners' bench day after day and night after night before experiencing the change of heart incident to personal salvation.[24] When the emotional crisis was passed, the ecstatic convert would rise and receive the heartfelt felicitations of the minister and anxious friends and relatives. Upon a public declaration of faith, the neophyte was subsequently baptized and received into the membership of the church. A religious pattern woven and transmitted by preceding generations pointed the mind to expect an experience of grace in token of divine forgiveness and personal regeneration. The ministers understood the workings of the carnal mind "and as it were, laid the sinner down on the table like an anatomist, and, taking their scapel of truth, laid bare muscle after muscle, vein after vein, artery after artery until the sinner felt that unless he could obtain mercy, he was a lost man."[25]

On occasion, when certain reprehensible practices seemed to be in the ascendant, the churches would inveigh against the wayward and vicious courses of ungodly men. The Saluda Baptist Association, embracing a membership of 1,016, in its annual meeting in the Pendleton District in 1827 viewed "with deep regret and

[23] Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, Society Hill, Nov. 6, 1824. Baptist Historical Collection.

[24] O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry*, p. 144.

[25] Shipp, A. M., *Methodism in South Carolina*, p. 586.

sorrow" the practice of electioneering "as subversive of good morals, leading the young and inconsiderate into habits of intemperance and folly." The Association placed itself on record individually and collectively to withhold votes and influence from candidates "who resort to the practice of going from place to place collecting—the vile and the vicious, the young and inexperienced and dealing out to them copious draughts of ardent spirits."[26] The Bible Society of Greenville at its meeting in 1830 listed the following as the major sins of the people: violation of the Sabbath, taking the name of the Lord in vain, the extensive use of ardent spirits, and the use of intoxicating spirits in elections.[27] As the evils indicated persisted, it is doubtful whether the protests of religious bodies greatly influenced the general public; but they serve, at any rate, to show that the church and its auxiliaries were alive to flagrant abuses deemed to be detrimental to the social order.

It should be noted that protests against prevalent evils emanated, as a rule, more from religious bodies in the Up-Country than from those of the Low-Country; but there the viewpoint of the people was more closely identified with the frontier. Consequently, there was slightly more intolerance and provincialism and less disposition to condone conduct which infringed upon the literal prohibitions of Holy Writ. The mind of the Up-Countryman proceeded from that of the European nonconformist which Everett Dean Martin describes as caring "little for beauty or gaiety and frowns on amusements and idleness. . . . It prizes simple goodness above either art or intellectual achievement," and emphasizes the virtues of thrift, responsibility and sobriety.[28] The frontier state of mind of the Up-Country, however, gradually underwent modification in the direction of the cavalier ideals of the Low-Country. Two factors were mainly responsible for this transformation: the spread of cotton culture into the Piedmont and the annual exodus of the planters of the tidewater to the hills in search of health. So marked was this change, that towards the end of the ante-bellum period the most intelligent classes of the Up-Country subscribed unreservedly to the social code of the "cotton barons" of the Low-Country.

[26] Greenville *Republican,* Sept. 1, 1827.

[27] *Mountaineer,* Apr. 10, 1830.

[28] Martin, Everett Dean, *Liberty,* p. 78. Quoted by permission of W. W. Norton & Co., publishers.

In the realm of individual behavior, the church unquestionably exercised a great spiritual and disciplinary influence over its communicants. Fear of suspension or expulsion from the church often deterred weak and halting church members from leaving the path of rectitude. The watchful eye of the church was ever upon them, and infractions of church rules involved an airing of personal weakness which usually proved embarrassing and humiliating to the offender. The records of the business sessions of most of the churches are filled with accounts of actions taken by the church in reproof of recalcitrant and erring members.

Regular attendance upon the services of the church was required of all members in health, and any dereliction in the premises was sure to invite an investigation by the church fathers. At the Mispah (Baptist) Church near Florence, the congregation at its regular Saturday business meeting voted to call the names of the members at each meeting and, if a member was absent from two meetings, the church was to appoint a committee "to wait on him and inquire the cause of absence."[29] At the Black Creek (Baptist) Church in the Darlington District, it was voted that the female members be excused from attending church meetings in cold weather, except the quarterly meetings when all were required to be present.[30] On August 1, 1857, a committee of the Black Creek Church appointed to visit Sister L— in regard to non-attendance, reported that they "conversed with her on the importance and duty of attending the meetings of the church." As the sister gave but little satisfaction, the committee recommended the appointment of another committee to labor with her.[31]

Failure to come forward for communion in the Bethesda (Presbyterian) Church was regarded as an indication of a sinful state of mind. Messrs. deSaussure and Workman were appointed to wait on a member of the church "who for reasons known to the session refrained from coming forward to communion on the last administration of the Lord's Supper." The committee was directed to ascertain the state of the brother's mind and to counsel and encourage him. At the same time, several other members of the congregation were invited to meet the session for conversation and Christian counsel. Defection in orthodoxy, intemperance, im-

[29] Minute Book, Mispah (Baptist) Church, Dec. 31, 1855. Baptist Historical Collection.

[30] Minute Book, Black Creek (Baptist) Church, Dec. 31, 1855.

[31] *Ibid.*

morality and profane swearing on the part of church members were common causes for disciplinary action. A person excluded from "the sealing ordinances of the church" could ordinarily, by walking circumspectly for a time, so commend himself to the brethren as to bring about his restoration to the fellowship of the church. Exclusion from the church carried a social stigma which few people cared to support; accordingly, excommunicated persons, unless devoid of a sense of personal pride or inordinately stubborn, usually strove to be restored to membership upon a statement of their intention to live comformably. On December 16, 1815, Peter B— was excluded from the Siloam (Baptist) Church for drunkenness, "but when he came repentant, the deacons were merciful."[32]

In ante-bellum days personal difficulties between the church members were adjusted at a church conference or by intermediaries appointed by the church. Such procedure was frequently the means of avoiding a lawsuit. Failure of the church to effect a reconciliation between hostile members was usually followed by disciplinary measures against one or both of the parties involved. Two brethren were appointed to effect a reconciliation between two members of the Mispah Church, brothers B— and P—. The committee reported its inability to get the members to accommodate their differences; whereupon, P— was excluded from the church because his charges could not be substantiated.[33] John K—, whose "general walk and conversation" had caused much unfavorable comment in and around Camden, was hailed into church to answer numerous charges, one of which was that he had wilfully misrepresented an episode in a boat on the Wateree River by circulating a false report concerning a wound in his arm. K— alleged that the wound was inflicted accidentally by the limb of a tree; but at the hearing witnesses testified *under oath* before the session that K— had engaged in a fight on the river and that he had been wounded in the arm by a skillet thrown by one C—. K— was suspended from the church.[34]

The Charleston Baptist Association is on record as giving counsel to the Christian in the matter of personal habiliments. Garish display of ornaments and fine raiments by the ordinary

[32] Minute Book, Siloam (Baptist) Church. MS. in possession of Harry Legare Watson, Greenwood, S. C. Instances of the sort were common.
[33] Minute Book, Mispah (Baptist) Church, June, 1837.
[34] Minute Book, Bethesda (Presbyterian) Church, June 7, 1807.

Christian was pronounced unbecoming, but "something bestowed on ornament and elegance is not improper for the rich where genius, art, and industry are to be encouraged." "There is," ran the pronouncement, "also a magnificence peculiar to high stations of public authority and power, but parade, luxury and pomp ill become the Christian."[35] The sum and substance of this admonition was that those who could afford to adorn the person might do so with a clear conscience, but if one's means were meager and one's station undistinguished, ostentation was unwise and unbecoming.

Women, who appear to have constituted a majority of the membership of the churches, attended the business meetings; but, as a rule, remained silent. As the "weaker vessel" who yielded to the original temptation and brought sin into the world, woman still suffered from the medieval conception of depravity. In this connection, a minute of the Siloam Church near Greenwood is of interest; "The sisters shall not be prohibited a voice in ordinary cases, but when it is judged most necessary in certain difficult matters, the whole business shall rest with the men."[36]

The membership rolls of nearly all churches carried the names of Negro slaves; and special sections of the church, usually the galleries, were reserved for their convenience. The Register of St. James' (Santee) Parish, for example, contains copious records of the confirmation of slaves. On January 29, 1854, the following slaves belonging to William Lucas, planter, were confirmed: "Isaac, Billy, Matt, Jimmy, Jack, Mary, Bess, Grace, Fanny, Sarah, Selby, Jucy, and Rose." At Spartanburg in 1845 about one third of the members of the Methodist Church and about one tenth of the members of the Baptist Church were slaves.[37] Of the membership of the Mispah (Baptist) Church, near Florence, in 1842, twenty-eight were white males, thirty-seven white females. In some of the parish churches of the Low-Country the black members outnumbered the whites. Outside of tidewater, however, the whites were generally in the majority.

Masters were willing and, in most cases, doubtless, even desirous that their slaves attend and join a church. Aside from the

[35] Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, Nov. 4, 1812. Baptist Historical Collection.

[36] Minute Book, Siloam (Baptist) Church, June 23, 1810.

[37] Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston (May 13-15, 1845), p. 21. Pamphlet in the Smythe Collection, Presbyterian College, Clinton, S. C.

spiritual benefits to be derived from such a connection, church membership furnished a weapon for enforcing obedience to the will of the master. Threat of expulsion from the church did, in some cases, serve to make slaves more tractable; while instruction in Christian behavior imparted by the church was conducive to faithful service. The slaves found it exceedingly difficult to conform to the rigid requirements of conduct prescribed for church members. Many who were received into the church were subsequently excluded for the sin of immorality. Marriage ties rested rather lightly on the sable brethren; in consequence, they were almost constantly subjected to church discipline for the sins of fornication and adultery. In this connection, the minutes of the Siloam Church are illuminating. Black members of the congregation in 1810 numbered fourteen, of which number eight were excommunicated. Of the white membership of seventy-one only eight were not in good standing.[38] Other church records reveal a similar situation. The Siloam Church in conference in December, 1811, excluded "Wardlaw's Abram" from the fellowship of the church "for living in the sin of adultery as we think, he having married a woman and they parted, and he taking another in her life-time." Again on February 22, 1812, the church in conference excluded Brother Ned, a Negro, from its fellowship because he was accused of being the father of a bastard child. November 17, 1818, Barnet, a black man, was "excommunicated" for drinking too much and for unbecoming conduct with "Brother Hill's Negro woman." At the Mispah Church on the fourth Sunday in August, 1838, a charge was laid against Polly, belonging to Hugh Cannon, "for having brought forth a white child." She was excluded from the church. Slaves were also disciplined by the church for running away from their masters and for stealing. Sometimes, after a period of probation, excommunicated slaves were restored to the church; but with disturbing regularity they reverted to wicked ways until the weight of years curbed physical activities. Many of the transgressions of black church members were never exposed publicly. As unbecoming conduct on the part of servants reflected a measure of discredit on masters, many slaveholders discreetly settled at home cases involving turpitude. It was a source of satisfaction to a slaveowner to have his "people" described as "well-behaved" for the reason that slaves born and

[38] Minute Book, Siloam (Baptist) Church, June 24, 1810.

reared on a plantation or farm were supposed to share at least measurably the ideals of their owners.

By and large, the church was a potent influence in shaping the ideals and attitudes of the community. The gospel it proclaimed comforted the believer in adversity as in prosperity. Resignation to the will of God, so much in evidence, brought solace to those bereaved; and reliance upon the promises of Holy Writ sustained those who struggled to overcome the world. Of simple religious faith, there was a great deal; of agnosticism and infidelity, very little. There were, of course, sinners and backsliders of the deepest dye, but these in sober moments acknowledged the hand of God in the affairs of men. South Carolina, like most agrarian commonwealths, was essentially a religious community.

Evidence of respect for the Christian church and religion is seen in the general observance of the Sabbath.[39] On the Sabbath, the weather being favorable, people of all classes repaired to church in large numbers. Those who could not afford conveyances walked, while people of moderate means rode in wagons, chairs, sulkies or on horseback. Dr. P. B. Ruff recalled that in Newberry District many of the women had to walk to the meeting-house. On commencing the journey, they would tie their shoes and stockings in a handkerchief and go barefooted until they were within one hundred yards of the church, at which point they sat down and clothed their feet for the entry into the church yard.[40] The family of means and good breeding journeyed to church in much style. Caroline Gilman describes the procession which her family made *en route* to the country church on a quiet Sabbath morning. Her mother and the children rode in a carriage, her brothers rode on horseback, while her father traveled in a buggy "in which he could cross and reconnoitre two or three fields on his way."[41] Outside the country church, before the service, men tied their horses, compared notes on the crops and discussed public questions until the ladies inside started the opening hymn; whereupon, they would file into the church with becoming reverence and sit, as a rule, apart from the women. It was not until after the service that ladies loitered on the grounds for a brief round of conversation, which included invitations to

[39] The term "Sabbath" is here used to denote the Christian Sabbath or Sunday.

[40] O'Neall and Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-486.

[41] Gilman, Caroline, *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, p. 85.

dinner. Without any preconcerted signal, families found their conveyances, and then a long procession of vehicles and pedestrians would swing into the serpentine road and move jerkily through the fields and forests to homes where the proverbial Sunday dinner awaited hearty appetites.

The Methodists, accounted among the strictest observers of the Sabbath, were enjoined not to make idle visits on Sunday and on no account to begin or complete a journey on the Lord's Day.[42] Places of business were closed and people generally abstained from their accustomed labors, except in so far as necessity dictated. Here and there, in such places as Charleston Neck,[43] disreputable characters congregated on Sunday and engaged in cockfighting, gambling and drinking to the mortification of respectable people; but such doings were rather effectually screened.[44] Town ordinances incorporated "blue laws" to restrain those who were disposed to desecrate the Sabbath by buying and selling. The ordinances of the City of Charleston made it unlawful to sell in the public markets or elsewhere in the city on Sunday.[45] No sports or games were allowed, and no person was to ride or to drive faster than a walk when passing places of worship on the Lord's Day.[46]

An adjunct of the church, which attained increasing importance in ante-bellum days, was the Sunday School. The primary object of the Sunday School was to provide religious instruction for children. Such schools were usually conducted under the auspices of the church; although, in some instances, they appear to have been independent establishments. For example, the Reverend John McLees noted in his diary April 8, 1838: "Began a Sabbath School in our old cotton house at ten o'clock composed of our own family with D. Simpsons, Sadlers, and Hasletts. We spent some time on McDowells Quest [questions] and appointed five Quest [questions] in the Shorter Chatechism and chose E. C. Haslett for teacher." This Sunday School closed on December 23 and reopened the following April. A Sunday School was established at Camden in 1819.[47] Here, as elsewhere, the "scholars" were examined periodically in the catechism and the

[42] Shipp, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-591.
[43] That portion of the City of Charleston above Boundary Street.
[44] See Fraser, Charles, *Reminiscences of Charleston,* pp. 64-65.
[45] The prohibition did not extend to drugs.
[46] Ordinances of the City of Charleston (1844), pp. 273-274.
[47] *The Southern Chronicle and Camden Gazette,* Apr. 11, 1822.

public was invited to hear the recitations. Regarding the Sunday School at Camden, a contributor to the Camden newspaper stated that "within the last twelve months forty scholars have recited 17,720 verses of scripture, answered 16,640 questions from the catechism and sung 8,240 hymns."[48] At Greenville, when the Sunday School was reopened in 1830, males and females under twelve years of age were invited to attend. "To those who cannot afford to purchase the necessary books," ran the announcement, "they will be cheerfully given."[49]

True enough, religious instruction of white children met universal approbation; but religious instruction of slaves provoked much discussion. Much depended upon the character of the instruction and the status of the instructor. Ordinarily, there was no objection to having the local minister preach to the slaves in the community church, but objection was raised now and then to the presence of strange missionaries on the plantations for the purpose of catechising the servants. It was held that instruction in the catechism would lead to a desire on the part of the slaves to learn to read and write. When the Rev. William Wightman of Virginia in 1838 rebuked the slaveholders of Cambridge for not properly caring for their slaves, five citizens of the Abbeville District signed a communication to the *Mountaineer* in which they alleged that a large and respectable portion of the citizens of Abbeville and Edgefield were opposed to missionary work among the slaves by the Methodists or any other sect.[50] A short time after the Wightman episode, the Rev. Mr. Turpin, a Methodist missionary to the slaves, was by a committee of four citizens of Cambridge requested to resign.[51] Behind the opposition to religious instruction of slaves was the widespread fear that Negro congregations would take occasion to plot against the whites; accordingly, great precaution was exercised in surrounding all religious gatherings of slaves with proper safeguards. Slaveowners, along with the entire white community, wished some guarantee against false teachers—abolition wolves in sheep's clothing—who would not scruple to use a religious meeting for sowing the dragon's teeth of sedition. In fact, any teaching which was not in keeping with the orthodox view of racial relations was sus-

[48] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1822.
[49] *Mountaineer*, July 23, 1830.
[50] *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1838. Rev. Wightman subsequently returned to live in South Carolina.
[51] *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1838.

pected, and the ears of the guardians of the social order were ever alert to detect signs of defection.

The whole matter of the religious instruction of slaves came to a head in a state-wide conference held at Charleston, May 13-15, 1845. Hon. Daniel E. Huger presided. It was brought out at this meeting that the churches generally provided religious exercises for slaves, and it was the consensus of opinion that religious instruction was beneficial as regards conduct. Concerning the Marlborough District, one Sabbath in each month was set apart for the Negroes by the Baptist Church. R. F. W. Allston, of Georgetown, stated that the Methodist missionary preached to his "people" every alternate Sunday. The Rev. Thomas J. Earle, pastor of the Baptist Church at Pendleton, in 1852 preached twice on Sunday, April 8, once to the whites and once to the blacks; on Sunday, May 2, he preached to the blacks in the afternoon at a special service.[52] An obvious advantage in holding separate services for slaves was that the minister could gauge his discourse to suit the intelligence and station of his congregation, who had difficulty in comprehending the doctrinal profundities of the white man's creed. Some planters employed ministers to visit their plantations regularly and preach to the slaves. Where, however, masters could not afford to employ ministers, if sufficiently impressed with their religious obligations in the premises, they undertook to impart religious instruction. When this was done it was customary for the master to read a portion of the scriptures with or without comment and to call upon a venerable and respected slave to lead in prayer.

All the major religious denominations maintained missionary work among the plantation slaves, but the Methodists were conceded generally to be most actively enlisted in the work. In 1845 the Methodist Conference in South Carolina supported sixteen missions to the blacks, a number not exceeded by any other denomination.[53] The Diocese of South Carolina had several clergymen devoting their entire time to religious work among the blacks, and to this work the Diocese attached great importance. The work of the Baptists, while extensive, was not well articulated. In a few instances licensed Negro exhorters of the Baptist and Methodist persuasion were allowed to harangue the black brethren,

[52] Diary of Rev. Thomas J. Earle.
[53] Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston (May 13-15, 1845), p. 68.

but for the most part instruction and admonition were given by the white class leaders and ministers of the gospel. Malet records that sometimes the class leaders of the blacks were Negroes. At Conwayboro he noted that Henry Wallace, a Negro class leader, preached in the Methodist Church in the afternoon.[54] There were eight or ten Negro exhorters in the Fairfield District and a scattering elsewhere in the State, but these held meetings only by permission and under strict surveillance.

Instruction of slaves in organized Sunday Schools appears to have been confined largely to Charleston. In 1850 the Sunday School at St. Philip's, Charleston, employed seventeen white and ten colored teachers. Of the scholars, ninety-five were white and eighty black.[55] There was no uniformity as to the time and manner of imparting religious instruction to slaves. Many churches afforded no special facilities for the instruction of slaves. Other churches in addition to admitting slaves to the regular church service, provided special services for exhortation and organized classes of blacks for instruction in a simplified catechism. Whatever the approach to the problem, the objective was the same—moral and spiritual progress without any threat, open or implied, to the tranquility of the established order. As the conduct of the whole matter rested largely upon moral and religious obligations, each community was free to deal with the religious life of the slaves in a manner suitable to prevailing sentiment.

The great enlistment grounds for the non-liturgical churches were the revival and the camp meeting. The annual revival, more often called the "protracted meeting," was usually staged in the late summer or early fall when there was a lull in farming operations. The revival was undoubtedly the principal event on the church calendar. While every service was more or less evangelical, the revival, which lasted for a week or ten days and sometimes longer, was anticipated and enjoyed to an extraordinary degree. It was not only a harvest of souls, but also a season of spiritual elation for professing Christians. As the preaching involved mental and physical exertion, it was not uncommon to have two or more preachers take turns in the pulpit while the revival was

[54] Malet, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[55] Sixty-First Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina (1850), p. 40. Negroes were admitted to the Sunday School of Grace (Episcopal) Church at Camden in 1855. Minute Book, Grace (Episcopal) Church, p. 169.

in progress. On occasion, ministers representing several denominations assembled to conduct a "protracted meeting." At Greenwood in 1847 four ministers, three Baptist and one Presbyterian, preached in rotation at the morning and evening services in an effort to convert the ungodly. At a revival at Black Creek Church in September, 1858, the pastor was assisted by four ministers and the meeting lasted seventeen days, during which time seventeen whites and sixteen colored persons were converted, baptized and received into the church.[56] A singular custom prevailed in some of the Methodist churches in revival. The principal sermon was delivered by a minister; while another person, called the exhorter, exhorted the sinners in the congregation, upon the conclusion of the sermon, to accept Christ.[57]

Revivals were characterized by emotionalism and excitement. Ministers plied the guilty conscience with persuasion, argument and threats of eternal damnation until sometimes the most incorrigible sinners would succumb. In describing a revival held at Mount Moriah Church near Abbeville, S. A. Townes wrote:

> A most extraordinary religious excitement prevails in this District. Last Saturday at Mt. Moriah—there were sixty-two persons baptized. It [the church] is not very far from our race grounds, and every racer, groom and steward, has been converted or seriously impressed. Col. G—, who was a great racer and an outrageous sinner, has quit training horses—sold one or two and let out his face as long as a yard-stick. Strange is it not.[58]

The Up-Country was pre-eminently the region of the camp meeting.[59] The people, commonly undemonstrative in the ordinary relations of life, found opportunity in the camp meeting to give expression to their religious emotions without fear of criticism. The exhibition of religious fervor on such an occasion was not regarded as an indication of personal weakness, but rather as a demonstration of the power of God over which the individual exercised little or no control. Furthermore, the camp meeting

[56] Minute Book, Black Creek (Baptist) Church.

[57] Shipp, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[58] S. A. Townes to G. A. Townes, Sept. 13, 1831. Townes Correspondence.

[59] There were also camp meetings in the Low-Country. A notice of a camp meeting "to commence at Chappee Bridge where it was held last year" appeared in the Winyaw *Intelligencer*, Sept. 16, 1829. In 1828 a camp meeting was held twenty-seven miles from Charleston. See Schirmir Journal, Nov. 9, 1828.

provided a means of social intercourse. Friends and relatives met on common ground to discuss common problems, while young people confusing human and divine love took advantage of the occasion to exchange compliments and pledge undying love.

Camp meetings, like revivals, were conducted, as a rule, in the late summer and early fall so as to afford the fullest opportunity for sustained attendance. Newspapers carried brief notices of annual camp meetings and newspaper correspondents reported progress achieved. It was always a matter of pride to have a correspondent report that "good order was observed throughout." A variety of motives prompted attendance. Doubtless a majority of those in attendance was motivated by a desire for spiritual uplift, but many came to satisfy curiosity and a longing for excitement. The presence of a large crowd enabled those who did not wish to appear conspicuous to witness the exercises without fear of embarrassment, while those who attended with a serious purpose could indulge their propensity for religious excitement in the general mêlée without attracting undue notice. Camp meetings lasted for several days, and those in constant attendance came equipped with food and bedding. For habitation, tents and wooden shacks sufficed.[60] A bevy of preachers, celebrated for their forensic powers, purveyed the gospel to vast throngs of men, women and children. When the crowd was unusually large several preachers held forth at once so that those on the utmost confines of the group could receive the benefit of the service.

What was perhaps the first, and in many respects, the most remarkable, camp meeting held in South Carolina was conducted at Old Waxhaw in May, 1802. This meeting seems to have been ushered in by the Great Revival which swept the country from about 1802 to 1805. Dr. Samuel E. McCorcle testified, apropos of this meeting, that about twenty ministers of different congregations were present to preach to about 3,500 people, of which number more than one hundred were "exercised."[61] According to this witness about twenty persons "fell" the first day. "The second person I saw struck," wrote McCorcle, "was a man who boasted that he would not fall. . . . Curiosity compelled another to attend and the fear of falling had induced him to drink freely;

[60] For a description of the camp ground of the Methodists "ten miles below the village of Greenville," see *Southern Patriot,* Aug. 22, 1851.

[61] Howe, Rev. George, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina,* II, 107-109.

so that it was doubtful when he was struck down what was the true cause." The Reverend Doctor Richard Furman of Charleston, who was present, related that "several persons at this meeting suffered those bodily exercises which have been before experienced in Kentucky and North Carolina."[62] The "bodily exercises" attracted much attention and aroused considerable opposition. So pronounced was the opposition, that in 1804 the Presbyterian General Assembly placed itself on record as being opposed to such exhibitions. At a camp meeting held in the Spartanburg District in 1802 the Lord's Supper was administered to about four hundred persons. The Presbyterians and Methodists communed together; but the Baptists, true to their custom, held aloof. "The services began at eight o'clock in the morning and lasted far into the night. The shrieks of the condemned filled the night with weird sounds and terrors." It was estimated, probably with a degree of exaggeration, that two thirds of the people of the Spartanburg District were present.

The bodily exercises which were incident to the early camp meetings were not so much in evidence at a later period. Indeed, there were camp meetings in which demonstrations, save by the unruly on the outskirts of the crowd, were unknown. Dr. John Logan confided to his diary: "Went to camp-meeting today—quite a number of people—I thought a good deal of disorder in the outskirts mixed with whites and blacks. I saw one white man drunk. No interesting preachers present."[63] The Rev. John McLees recorded that he attended a camp meeting at Good Hope in August, 1838, from Friday until the following Tuesday and came away much depressed in spirit. "The preaching," he opined, "has been of the most affecting kind, but a cold spirit pervades the church and all the Assembly and we have no appearance of revival among us."[64]

In keeping with their purpose of working a reformation in public and private morality, the churches espoused the temperance movement. Strong drink was sold in grog shops, taverns and even grocery stores, and the drinking habit was almost universal. At muster grounds, political rallies and sales day, whiskey was imbibed freely and more or less disorder was expected and realized.

[62] *Ibid.*, II, 109-113.
[63] Diary of Dr. John Logan, Sept. 12, 1857.
[64] McLees Diary, Aug. 15, 1838.

"Philo," in a communication to *The* (Greenville) *Republican,* February 10, 1829, alleged that "on public days our streets are as much crowded with drunkards as formerly; during the nights there is as much rioting and noise as ever. At last fall court I heard it remarked by many persons that they had never witnessed so much noise and drunkenness in the village before." Bonded whiskey stills converted apple cider into brandy for both home and market; while tavern and storekeepers sold rye whiskey, corn whiskey, rum, wine and gin as staples, at prices which ranged from one dollar a gallon for rum to one dollar and fifty cents a gallon for peach brandy. Single drinks served over the counter could be had for six and one-half cents. Rum and whiskey were purchased along with groceries and charged to the account of the customer.[65]

To combat the obvious evils of intemperance, the church lent its influence and facilities to the promotion of the campaign staged by the Sons of Temperance and other societies for the eradication of the vice of intemperance. At the Bethesda Church at Camden, the following resolution was adopted May 2, 1830:

> Resolved that the members of Harmony Presbytery will wholly abstain from the use of ardent spirits ourselves excepting when needed as a medicine and will exert our influence by all means in our power to discourage their use with others. Ordered that the resolution be submitted to all the churches in our bounds and that every church member be earnestly enjoined to adopt it.[66]

The Sons of Temperance,[67] a fraternal organization with branches throughout the State, staged a procession in Greenville in April, 1852, which for fanfare and pyrotechnics exceeded a Fourth of July celebration. According to a contemporary account, "they came marching up to the Baptist Church after dark with banners flying, drums beating and torch lights illuminating the streets from one end to the other. They were dressed in all the

[65] Account Book of John Grant, proprietor of a store and tavern at Old Cambridge (about a mile and a half from the present town of Ninety-Six) for the years 1838, 1839, 1840. This book carries prices of various beverages and groceries. MS. in possession of Harry Legare Watson, Greenwood, S. C.

[66] Minute Book, Bethesda (Presbyterian) Church.

[67] Founded in New York, Dec., 1846. The Washingtonian, an earlier national organization, was organized at Baltimore, April, 1840. See Geer, William M., "The Temperance Movement in Georgia in the Middle Period," unpublished M. A. thesis, Emory University.

regalia and must have looked to the drunkard more terrible than an army with banners."[68] At the church a member offered a prayer, the temperance ode was sung and a tirade against intemperance was delivered.

The object of the temperance movement which got under way in South Carolina in the 'twenties was to persuade people to sign a temperance pledge whereby they agreed to abstain from the use of ardent spirits and to use their influence in getting others to abstain. The temperance forces were well organized in the State and possessed an able advocate in the person of Judge Belton O'Neall.[69] While the churches openly espoused the temperance movement, the movement did not depend entirely upon them for its advancement. The State Temperance Society held annual meetings and staged rallies in the strongholds of old John Barleycorn throughout the State. The number of temperance pledges in South Carolina in 1843, according to a credible source, was 19,211. Desertion from the ranks was all too common. Under the spell of a temperance orator, who decried the fate of the drunkard, pledges were signed freely; but, in time, the thirst for strong drink would all too often overcome solemn resolutions and good intentions. Neither the threat of expulsion from the temperance society nor the finger of scorn pointed by the drinkers of spring water availed to keep the bibulously-inclined from reverting to the ways of the flesh. So flagrant was the violation of temperance pledges, that the editor of *Temperance Advocate* was moved to state that violations among the higher classes of society were not deemed to involve a point of honor.[70] Despite the fact that many literal-minded Christians would not support the temperance societies because they were not mentioned in the Bible, and despite almost constant defection in the ranks, the work of recruiting pledges was carried forward by zealous crusaders until the War for Southern Independence absorbed the energies of the Southern people.[71]

[68] *Southern Patriot,* Apr. 22, 1852.

[69] Co-author of *Annals of Newberry* and a jurist of outstanding ability.

[70] Quoted in the *Edgefield Advertiser,* May 29, 1844.

[71] Bible Societies, for purchasing and distributing Bibles, were found in practically all the urban centers.

CHAPTER XI

SAFEGUARDING THE SOCIAL ORGANISM

The concern of Southern whites for the preservation of the established order caused them not only to view with disquietude the introduction of currents of thought which tended to break down the insularity of the South, but also to set up special safeguards for the regimentation and control of a social system based upon Negro slavery. By and large, it was the presence of the Negro that caused the Southern community to be in many respects distinctive. In the absence of the Negro, ordinary safeguards would doubtless have been adequate; but his presence as a slave and as a free person necessitated the employment of rigorous measures to insure social stability. There were foes within and foes without, against whom it seemed necessary to be forever on guard. The chief foes without were the abolitionists. Within, the Negro was at least a potential foe, requiring observation night and day.

No group of people was more detested by the South than the abolitionists. These fanatics, as they were called in the South, were execrated because of their unreasoned and evangelical zeal for the immediate, uncompensated emancipation of the slaves. The abolitionists not only scouted property rights, but absolutely ignored the consequences of their program in terms of the social order. It was almost as dangerous for an abolitionist to set foot on South Carolina soil as it was for a Christian to visit Mecca. Any stranger in the State seen consorting with slaves was immediately suspected of being an abolitionist and, in consequence, was subjected to inquisition and, frequently, personal violence. For example, at Branchville, a man who had been forced to leave Columbia for tampering with slaves was seized, tarred and feathered, and then treated to thirty-nine lashes. The people of Branchville raised a subscription to send the stranger North.[1] In the Orangeburg District, a stranger caught tampering with slaves was treated to a coat of tar and feathers.[2] A stranger (the word

[1] *Courier*, Dec. 31, 1859.

[2] *Mountaineer*, Aug. 25, 1848.

had peculiar significance in the South) selling birds on Broad Street in Charleston was knocked down by George Walker when he criticized the system of domestic slavery. After a hurried visit to the police station, the stranger in the interest of personal safety departed in the Wilmington boat.[3] Instances of the maltreatment of suspected abolitionists could be multiplied. Everywhere in South Carolina they were regarded as poisonous vipers and were dealt with in the most summary manner.

Interference with domestic relations in the State by anti-slavery societies was resented by the churches. For instance, the Charleston Baptist Association in 1835 placed itself on record in the most decisive manner against "the deluded and mischievous fanatics who interfere with the domestic institutions in the slaveholding states." The Association declared that such interference was "not only officious and unfriendly but incendiary and murderous in its tendency, highly injurious to the interests of the slaves and fatal to the feelings of a common brotherhood."[4] Vigilance committees were organized in various towns to observe suspicious persons and to prevent the circulation of incendiary literature. Even Northern schoolteachers, of whom there were a great many, were viewed with distrust.[5]

It was very difficult to suppress the circulation of abolition literature. Indeed, so baffling was the problem that the impatient and indignant citizens of Charleston (sometimes referred to as a mob) broke open the post office, removed all incendiary papers and pamphlets and consigned them to a huge bonfire on the parade ground. At the same time the crowd burned in effigy the leading abolition characters of the North.[6] Public meetings at Charleston and Columbia rang the changes on the nefarious designs of the Northern fanatics. Not since nullification had the people of the State been so thoroughly aroused and united. Governor George McDuffie in his message to the legislature in 1835 referred to the abolitionists as "wicked monsters and deluded fanatics" who should be punished by death without benefit of clergy.[7]

[3] Schirmir Journal, Jan. 15, 1848.

[4] Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, Nov. 3, 1835. Baptist Historical Collection.

[5] Henry, H. M., *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, p. 158.

[6] Schirmir Journal, July 29, 1835. [7] *Mountaineer*, Dec. 5, 1835.

Failure of the diatribes of leading citizens and of the acts of the legislature[8] to abate the abolition movement, led to talk of secession. If Northern fanatics would not heed the repeated requests of the South that slavery be left alone, then according to James H. Hammond the South should pause to calculate the value of the Union. Hammond wrote in 1849:

> I know that the value of the Union is now calculated hourly in every corner of the South, for I rarely get into a coterie, even in the streets of Augusta—a Yankee town you know—but it is discussed. The conviction too is growing rapidly—that the Union has always been and always will be a disadvantage to us, and that the sooner we get rid of it the better.[9]

As the cause of South Carolina was the cause of the South, men like Hammond and Calhoun were in favor of calling a Southern convention to deal with the abolition movement, while R. B. Rhett was in favor of secession and proposed an amendment to the Constitution for the purpose.[10]

By and large, it should be said that South Carolinians were resourceful in protecting their domestic arrangements against the foes without. As very few slaves and free Negroes could read, and as the literate whites were extremely hostile to the circulation of abolition literature, the written propaganda rarely made any impression on the blacks. Emissaries of abolition entered the State at the peril of their lives; consequently, it was only by the conquest of public opinion in the North and West that the abolitionists could hope for results. In South Carolina, where the public mind was easily inflamed, the danger from abolitionists was magnified. South Carolinians were ever as prompt to cope with danger as to scent it. Love of State and attachment to local institutions rendered them alert to every menace to domestic tranquility.

While the slave was the mudsill of the agrarian economy of the South, he constituted, none the less, a serious social problem. As persons, slaves were capable of committing depredations on prop-

[8] Statutes at Large, XIII, 768-769.

[9] James H. Hammond to John C. Calhoun, Feb. 19, 1849, in "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," *Fourth Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association*, p. 1193.

[10] Jervey, Theodore, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times*, p. 452; *Courier*, Jan. 30, 1838.

erty and of doing violence to the persons of whites. It is obvious that a goodly portion of the whites were as malicious as the slaves, and for restraining those the State and counties provided constables, sheriffs and law courts. Slaves, however, belonged to a somewhat peculiar category in that they could not be allowed the liberties allowed the equally mischievous whites. In order to keep the slaves in subjection to their masters and circumspect in their conduct, it was necessary to adopt rigid measures of internal police to be administered both by the slaveowners and the duly constituted officers of the law. Of the various controls set up to regulate the conduct and movements of slaves, let us consider first the patrol.

McCrady tells us that one of the factors which rendered South Carolina distinctive in Colonial times was a military organization for protection against Indians, Negroes and Spaniards. Quite early the Province was divided into military districts in which the captain of a "beat" or militia company was charged with the maintenance of order in his district.[11] As the slave and free Negro population increased, the need for greater alertness on the part of the whites dictated the establishment of a uniform system of patrol. Before South Carolina obtained statehood, the militia was entrusted with the duty of providing a patrol for every "beat."[12] The patrol was selected at the militia muster and served until the next muster without pay.[13] It became the duty of each squad of patrolmen to visit every plantation on the "beat" at least once a fortnight, and more often if exigency required, to apprehend and whip all slaves at large without a written pass, to search Negro quarters and tippling quarters for firearms and in general to keep slaves within prescribed bounds. Failure to serve as a patrolman constituted an offense triable in the militia court. It is fairly obvious that the patrol was distinguished for its inactivity. Frequent criticism of the system was based largely on the failure of the patrol to function regularly. When rumors of slave uprisings were rife, the patrol would ride the roads at night in the exercise of a proper vigilance; but under ordinary circumstances

[11] McCrady, Edward, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, p. 9.

[12] A "beat" was the district assigned to a given patrol.

[13] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 34. The age of service in the patrol ranged from eighteen to forty-five years. For a detailed account of how the patrol was selected and organized, see *ibid.*, pp. 34 ff.

patrolmen avoided the "night air" deemed to be detrimental to health.[14]

The employment of a patrol did not relieve masters and overseers of the necessity of exercising a strict surveillance over their domestic servants. The self-interest of slaveowners prescribed a proper regard for the habits and health of slaves as well as the enforcement of regulations designed to afford protection to persons and property. For the general management and direction of slaves, planters employed white overseers who, in absence of the master, exercised supreme control. In fact, in the tidewater where the planters migrated in summer, the employment of an overseer to superintend plantation operations was unavoidable. Aside, however, from this consideration, the law of South Carolina required masters who lived on their plantations not more than six months of the year and who worked more than fifteen slaves, to keep on the plantation some white person capable of performing patrol duty.[15]

The overseer was obligated not only to see that the slaves performed their daily work promptly and well, but also to enforce plantation rules concerning the conduct of slaves. A few planters like James H. Hammond of Beech Island prepared elaborate written rules for the guidance of the overseer; others, a majority, merely gave oral instructions. The main concern of an overseer was of course, to make a "good crop." Abundant yields was the best insurance of continuous employment. According to a correspondent of the *South Carolinian,* it was of no consequence to an overseer that hands were overworked, that breeding women miscarried, plantation tools were destroyed and stock neglected.[16] While one cannot accept this statement at its face value, the writer certainly voiced a prevalent criticism of overseers. Writing under the pen name of "Franklin," this scribe outlined the principal duties of an overseer, which were to obey orders, attend to the proper management of slaves, see that reasonable tasks were imposed and faithfully performed, attend the sick, enforce discipline with as little punishment as possible, carry the keys of the planta-

[14] An act of 1819 allowed a person selected for patrol duty to hire a substitute. Statutes at Large, VIII, 540.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Reprint from the *South Carolinian* in the *Edgefield Advertiser,* June 19, 1844.

tion and take care of the stock and tools.[17] In general, he was to serve the interests of his employer.

The rules drawn up by James H. Hammond for the overseer of Silver Bluff Plantation on the Savannah River stipulated that the overseer "must not be absent" from the plantation for a single night or a whole day "without my consent." Rule number six required the overseer to visit the Negro houses every morning by daylight. "Once a week at least, he must visit every house after horn blow, and once a month, at least, he must visit each negro quarter after night." Rule number seven enjoined the overseer to "flog the Negroes only when necessary and never to strike or kick a negro with his hand or with a stick except in self-defense."[18]

The delegation of authority to an overseer did not relieve the master of responsibility for the conduct of his slaves. The pecuniary stake which a master had in his slaves, as well as a sense of obligation to society, served to cause the master to look to the ordering of his establishment. After all, the stability of the social order depended largely upon the conduct of the several planting units. The social obligation to preserve order and decorum rested no less urgently on the small slaveowner who did his own overseeing. In fact, any slaveholder who condoned misconduct on the part of his slaves was sure to encounter the censure of his neighbors. Slaves were from time to time in contact with slaves on neighboring farms and plantations; consequently, the bad management of slaves on a given establishment might have repercussions in slave conduct on adjacent establishments. Patrols when active could and did do much to maintain order in their "beat," but their work was intended to supplement, not to supersede, the efforts of the individual proprietors. The system of internal police in the rural districts as regards the slave, therefore, represented a series of interlocking functions. The individual proprietors enforced plantation rules and cooperated with the patrol in the enforcement of the slave code in the "beat," while the militia was ever ready at the call of the governor to suppress disorder on a large scale wherever and whenever local authorities were impotent.

Ordinarily docile and friendly, slaves when abused were capable of great mischief. Generally the recourse of a slave who felt that he had been abused was to run away from his master and hide

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Hammond Plantation Book (1832-1839).

out in the woods. There were, however, here and there bold and sinister figures among the slaves who under certain circumstances would not hesitate to commit acts of violence. Slaveowners did not readily admit that they ever entertained fear of any of their slaves. If a slaveowner entertained such fear secretly, he would, as a rule, sell the suspected Negro to a Negro trader for transportation to remote parts. Louis Manigault, of Charleston, noted that Jack Savage, a Negro whom he owned, always gave trouble and ever appeared dissatisfied. "He was," wrote Manigault, "the only negro ever in our possession who I considered capable of murdering me or burning my dwelling at night or capable of committing any act."[19] Despite the fact that slaveowners in general disclaimed any personal fear of their slaves (and confidence in slaves was in most instances well founded), it is true that when a slaveowner was clandestinely murdered the suspicion of the neighbors was likely to fall first upon one or more of the slaves of the deceased.

Danger of any concerted action by slaves and free Negroes was never very great. Slaves were for the most part restricted in their movements to a limited range and could pass from plantation to plantation lawfully only by means of a written pass; besides, they lacked leadership and weapons. In consequence, there was little opportunity for planning an uprising in the rural districts. In the towns and cities, however, where slaves were allowed to pass and repass more freely, the opportunity for fomenting insurrection was distinctly better. In order to forestall concerted action by the slaves, all meetings of slaves and free persons of color behind closed doors were forbidden even when whites were present.[20] At religious gatherings with open doors, the presence of one white person came to be regarded as a guarantee of good behavior.[21] The ordinances of the City of Charleston forbade slaves to assemble for religious worship except in the presence of one or more responsible whites. As for the other gatherings, not more than seven slaves or free persons of color could lawfully assemble, except when attending funerals or fires, unless in the presence of some responsible white person.[22] It would be erroneous to assume that these laws were always faithfully executed, but

[19] Record of the Conduct of a Rice Plantation on the Savannah River by Louis Manigault of Charleston, p. 23.

[20] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135. [21] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[22] Ordinances of the City of Charleston (1837), p. 114.

they are in evidence as a part of the defense deemed necessary to safeguard the social organism.

A potent reason for the apprehension of a slave insurrection in South Carolina was the numerical strength of the slaves. In 1850 Negro slaves constituted 57.5% of the total population of the State.[23] The slave population increased from 107,094 in 1790 to 384,984 in 1850. In such large slaveholding districts as Charleston, Beaufort, Edgefield, Orangeburg and Sumter, where in many instances the slaves outnumbered the whites more than two to one, the menace and dire possibilities of a slave uprising were fearful to contemplate. No one doubted that, ultimately, rebellious slaves could be subdued; but there was a threat in the initial onslaught. It is, of course, easy to exaggerate the fear felt by the whites of domestic insurrection. It was, to say the least, only acute when dark rumors of the existence of a Negro conspiracy were current. Russell tells us in his interesting book, *My Diary North and South,* that the planters in and around Georgetown left the windows and doors of their dwellings unlocked at night.[24] Under ordinary circumstances, it would doubtless be fair to assume that elsewhere in the rural districts the planters and their families slept in composure behind unlocked doors. Of this, however, we cannot be sure. The Rev. Charles B. Snowden, writing to his brother in Charleston about the time of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy, stated that slave insurrections were more likely to occur in towns than in the country. "Reflections," he wrote, "the fruit of leisure, will have place with many black people in the city where hard labor for all cannot be found, and reflection will give rise to action."[25]

The only Negro conspiracy in South Carolina which threatened great loss of life and property and which very nearly approached fruition was the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in Charleston in 1822. The conspiracy was artfully organized by Denmark Vesey, a literate free Negro artisan. He and his coadjutors, it seems, planned to rise at midnight of June 16, seize the arsenals in the city and the shipping in the harbor.[26] The plot was revealed on May 30 by George, the body-servant of Mr. Wilson. The local militia

[23] Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 86.
[24] Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South,* p. 130.
[25] Snowden, Yates, *The Planters of St. John's,* p. 10.
[26] The date of the uprising (see Henry, *op. cit.,* p. 152) was changed to July 1st or thereabouts.

was called out and the city guard strengthened. When the dreaded Sunday night passed without an outbreak, a special court composed of a small group of the leading citizens of Charleston, was organized to conduct the trial of the slaves accused of being in the conspiracy. One hundred and thirty Negroes were arrested and nearly half of them convicted. Of those convicted, including Denmark Vesey and Gullah Jack, thirty-four were deported and thirty-five hanged.[27] An attempt at insurrection occurred at Camden in 1816, for which five slaves were executed.[28] Other alarms concerning Negro uprisings proved to be highly colored. For example, in the *Annals of Newberry* it is related that one evening (date uncertain) a man named Thompson, who lived about four miles from the courthouse (Newberry), came into the village and declared that five hundred Negroes had assembled nearby for the purpose of burning the village and killing everyone in it. Women fled to the courthouse and the hotel for protection while men seized guns and posted sentinels. Finally, when the Negroes did not appear, Bert Harrington ventured out on the Laurens Road, but no Negroes could be found.[29]

Numerous laws enacted by the legislature to prevent trading with slaves were in the interest of discouraging theft by slaves. In like manner, laws enacted to penalize the sale of liquor to slaves were conceived in the interest of keeping slaves sober and tractable. It was well-nigh impossible to prevent trading with slaves, for the reason that unscrupulous and mercenary whites could be found in almost every community who would buy valuable produce from slaves for a mere bagatelle and then sell the contraband for a substantial profit. So long as whites and free Negroes would purchase goods from slaves contrary to the law, the slaves would yield to the temptation to steal and barter. So flagrant was the practice in Williamsburg that a grand jury of the District asked the legislature to pass an act making trading with slaves an offense punishable by whipping. It was reported that merchants purchased seed cotton from slaves at night.[30] A Charleston grand jury in 1852 complained that the evil of trading with slaves had become so flagrant that either these men must be put down "or we

[27] Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery,* pp. 477-479.
[28] Henry, *op. cit.,* p. 151.
[29] O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry,* p. 501.
[30] Boddie, W. W., *History of Williamsburg County,* p. 316.

must give up our system of servitude" in the parishes of St. Philip's and St. Michael's.[31]

A perennial and vexatious problem in connection with the management of slaves was the runaway slave. Scarcely any community in the slaveholding belt was without runaways. Slaves who resented punishment inflicted, or who wished to avoid punishment or work, would flee to the swamps and there subsist as best they could on nature's bounty supplemented by theft and secret succor from sympathetic bondsmen. Not only was the master of a runaway slave deprived of the slave's labor, but the community in which the fugitive ranged was subject to his depredations. Apropos of runaway slaves, W. Thacher, residing in the Low-Country in the capacity of a tutor, recorded: "Last week there were three runaway negroes caught—two fellows were badly shot. The runaways are hunted with dogs and guns like deer—they inhabit the woods like Indians and steal poultry, kill cattle and rob plantations indiscriminately. Some have been in the woods three or four years."[32] The entire white community was interested in the capture and return of runaway slaves. Specially trained "negro dogs" were employed to trail the fugitives, while the hunters followed as best they could through the tangled underbrush. The pursuit was not always rewarded by the capture of the fugitive, as experienced runaways, by the employment of well-known tricks, could obliterate the trail. Many runaways, after enduring privations in the swamps, would voluntarily return to captivity as the lesser of two evils. "On night before last," wrote David Golightly, "a runaway slave came to my negro house. He says that he belongs to Mrs. Blackwell—his feet are frost-bitten and otherwise in a mournful condition. Today I will take him to the village."[33]

For the infraction of plantation rules, corporal punishment was believed to be the most effective deterrent. Cruel punishment of slaves was unlawful, but owners were free to inflict such punishment on slaves as was "necessary to their good government."[34] The weapon of chastisement was a leathern whip which was a part of the equipment of every overseer. The number of lashes inflicted was graduated to correspond to the gravity of the offense. Governor Hammond in prescribing rules for the management of

[31] *Courier*, March 3, 1852.
[32] Thacher Diary, March 16, 1817.
[33] Harris Journal, Jan. 22, 1857.
[34] Statutes at Large, XIII, 738.

his estate at Beech Island listed the most common offenses of slaves in the order in which they were to be estimated and punished: "(1) running away, (2) getting drunk or having liquor, (3) stealing hogs, (4) stealing, (5) leaving plantation without permission, (6) absence after horn-blow, (7) unclean house or person, (8) neglect of tools, (9) neglect of work. The highest punishment must not exceed fifty lashes in one day."[35] All planters and farmers were not so deliberate and methodical as Governor Hammond; accordingly, in some cases, the measure of the punishment was the extent of the anger of the overseer or owner.

In Charleston the City Council, in order to improve discipline and to meliorate corporal punishment, caused a treadmill to be erected within the enclosure of the workhouse yard in the City. All fugitive slaves, vagrants and free persons of color committed to the workhouse, if physically able, were to labor on the mill.[36] Numerous slaveowners, both in and outside of Charleston, committed unruly slaves to the workhouse for a period of hard labor. On March 2, 1856, Major David Gavin of St. George recorded in his diary: "I have just returned from Charleston to put both Cato and Team in the work house." Team was a chronic runaway, whose bad example, his owner thought, would "spoil the best of my people."[37] Jacob Schirmir wrote: "John and Frances last night sent them to the Guard House to go this morning to the work house to spend the Holy Days in consequence of their bad behavior."[38] As workhouses were not always accessible, and as service in the workhouse involved a loss of time to the owner of slaves, corporal punishment continued to be the prevailing method of disciplining slaves for minor offenses.

Special Negro courts were provided for the trial of slaves charged with violation of the slave code. The Act of 1839 stipulated that all offenses committed by slaves or free persons of color should be tried before a magistrate and five freeholders, and that the verdict must be signed by the magistrate and four freeholders sitting as judges. This court had unlimited jurisdiction; but in case of imposition of the death sentence, sufficient time was

[35] Hammond Plantation Book, (1832-1839).

[36] Ordinances of the City of Charleston (1826), p. 29.

[37] The term "people" was used widely in the Low-Country to designate one's domestic servants.

[38] Schirmir Journal, Dec. 25, 1853.

to be allowed to make an appeal to a higher court.[39] For any offense not capital, the punishment for slaves and free persons of color was whipping, confinement in stocks or the treadmill.[40] Of interest in this connection is the report of Mayor R. Y. Hayne of Charleston covering the criminal cases tried before the Mayor's Court in Charleston from September, 1836, to September, 1837. The number of slaves brought in was 768, of whom 138 were discharged, 309 fined, 264 committed to the workhouse or subjected to corporal punishment and fifty-seven committed for trial.[41] These figures would not indicate that the blacks were more criminally minded than the whites. Any comparison, however, of crime records as between blacks and whites would, because of the peculiar status of the blacks, necessarily be inconclusive.

Protection of life and property in the towns and the one city in South Carolina involved a somewhat more complex system of police. Ordinance making and enforcement were vested in an intendant and wardens who, when sitting in their official capacity, were known as the Town Council. The Council was an elective body whose authority to make and enforce ordinances was limited by the town charter. During the ante-bellum period, town and city government was in transition. Prior to the 'thirties the chief law-enforcing officer in the town was the constable, appointed by the intendant and wardens. This officer served warrants and preserved order.

At the same time, there appear to have been rural constables, appointed by the magistrates, who served processes and arrested disturbers of the peace for trial before the nearest magistrate.[42] The rural constable survived the ante-bellum period; but the urban constable was gradually replaced in the 'thirties by a town marshal or high constable who assumed the duties of the constable. For example, when the legislature incorporated the town of Aiken in 1835, the charter specified that the intendant and wardens were to appoint the constables within their jurisdiction.[43] In the same year the charter of incorporation of Hamburg made no mention of

[39] Statutes at Large, XI, 26.

[40] *Ibid.*, VI, 489. Branding in all cases was abolished by an act of the legislature in 1833.

[41] Report of the Proceedings of the City Authorities of Charleston During the Past Year Ending Sept. 1, 1837, p. 8. In the same period 648 white prisoners were brought in. Of this number 555 were discharged, 59 committed to trial and 34 committed as vagrants to the Poor House. *Ibid.*

[42] Statutes at Large, XI, 80-83. [43] *Ibid.*, VI, 531.

constables, but stipulated instead that the intendant and wardens were to appoint a town marshal who was to discharge all the duties of the constable.[44] In Camden the town marshal was appointed by the Town Council for one year at a salary of $120. His duties were to preserve the peace, execute all warrants, levy all executions issued by the Council and enforce all town and state laws against the pernicious practice of gambling.[45] By 1850 the office of town marshal had become a permanent fixture in town government.

Coexistent with the town constables and marshal was the town patrol, established for the purpose of arresting and punishing slaves abroad in the town without a written permit and for the general enforcement of town ordinances relative to the patrol system.[46] Patrol duty required citizens to be abroad at night; accordingly, the service was distasteful to home-loving townsmen. So objectionable was unpaid patrol duty, that in the 'fifties patrol duty in the towns was commuted to a money payment for the employment of a town guard or night watch. The town of Greenville was empowered to compound with persons liable to patrol duty "in said town for the payment of an annual tax in lieu of the performance of patrol duty" and to establish a guard or police for the better security and regulation of the town.[47] The same change was made in the government of Camden in 1841[48] and of Georgetown in 1854.[49] As the town guard was paid a salary, it proved to be a more effective agency for regulating the nocturnal life of the towns than the old patrol of uncompensated service.

The free Negroes or, more properly, free persons of color, did not fit into the social pattern. Logically, the only place for a Negro was in slavery. Elsewhere, he constituted a social anomaly —a misfit, and for that reason free Negroes were the objects of

[44] *Ibid.* Cheraw had a town marshal in 1824. See *Pee Dee Gazette,* Apr. 11, 1826.

[45] Engrossed Ordinances of the Town of Camden, May, 1832. MSS. in Office of City Clerk, Camden, S. C.

[46] The extent to which the town marshal was responsible for the arrest of slaves is not clear. Much work remains to be done on the evolution of town government in South Carolina.

[47] Statutes at Large, VI, 434-436.

[48] Engrossed Ordinances of the Town of Camden, Jan., 1851.

[49] Statutes at Large, VII, 377. Charleston abolished its patrol in 1821 and substituted therefor a municipal guard of 150 persons enlisted for five years. *Ibid.,* VIII, 312.

discriminative and repressive legislation. No free person of color could lawfully enter the State after 1835,[50] and from time to time the legislature considered the feasibility of ridding the State of all free Negroes. A bill providing a tax on free Negroes so as to compel them to leave the State was proposed in 1822, but it failed of passage in the House of Representatives by two votes.[51] Why were free Negroes as a class held in general detestation? For several reasons. They were suspected of fomenting insurrection among the slaves (Denmark Vesey was a free person of color), of inciting slaves to run away from their masters and of forging passes for the purpose. They were accused of trading with slaves, of being tools of the abolitionists and of corrupting the entire slave population by their very presence and contact. Poor whites had reason to dislike them because of economic competition in the small trades. No respectable white person could very well maintain his superiority complex when forced to bid against a free person of color for patronage as cabinetmaker or wheelwright. Here and there, individual free Negroes were held in esteem; but as a class they were strongly disliked and suspected. Free Negroes were exempt from militia, patrol, jury and guard duties, but were subject to an annual poll tax of two dollars.[52] They labored under the additional disabilities of being unable to testify in court against a white person, of being triable in Negro courts, and of being subject to corporal punishment.[53] After the Denmark Vesey episode, sentiment ran so bitterly against the free Negroes that the legislature required every free person of color above the age of fifteen years to have as guardian a white person who was to vouch for the "good character and correct habits of his ward."[54] Turning to the other side of the picture, we find that free Negroes enjoyed freedom of movement, the right to marry and give in marriage, and the right to own property even in slaves. A rather singular feature of the status of free Negroes was that they could be sold into slavery in default of the payment of jail fees or court fines. Jacob Schirmir noted in his Journal the trial of four free Negroes for harboring two girls. "They were sold on last Tuesday for $952 for the purpose of paying the fine imposed by the law."[55]

[50] *Ibid.*, VII, 470-474.

[51] House Journal, Nov. 26, 1822.

[52] Statutes at Large, VII, 584.

[53] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 178. It is doubtful whether this arrangement was wholly perfected.

[55] Schirmir Journal, Aug. 23, 1826. The Negroes were purchased by

As a class, free Negroes were improvident, plying small trades in the towns and in Charleston, where they enjoyed a greater degree of economic independence, than elsewhere in the State. In Charleston free Negro men engaged as barbers, tailors, cabinet-makers, carpenters, shoemakers, draymen, coopers and wheel-wrights, while the women served as seamstresses, pastry cooks, mantua makers and nurses.[56] A few free Negroes by dint of industry and frugality, acquired considerable property and a degree of respectability. The will of Captain Williamson of Charleston, a free man of color, reveals that he left two hundred dollars to be spent by the pastor of the Circular Church for the benefit of the poor, and one hundred dollars to support the colored Sunday School attached to the Church.[57] Nat Comings, another free man of color, died possessed of fourteen shares of the Bank of South Carolina. He had in his lifetime purchased his sister, a slave, from Edward Simons, Esq.[58] The generality of free Negroes were peaceable and harmless, but increase in numbers rendered them ever-increasing victims of a strong undertone of hostility.[59] About 1860 there was, according to Henry, much sentiment in South Carolina for forcing all free Negroes to accept the status of slaves.[60]

In order to retard the numerical increase of free Negroes, sound public policy seemed to dictate the imposition of severe restrictions on emancipation of slaves. There were no restrictions on emancipation before 1800, and prior to that time slaveowners

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the South Carolina Association. Of interest in connection with the status of the free Negro in South Carolina is the visit of Senator Hoar of Massachusetts to test the validity of the Seamen Acts, one of which required the sheriff to arrest and confine any free Negroes that composed a portion of a ship's crew and hold them until the ship departed. The legislature of South Carolina with one dissenting vote requested the Governor to expel Senator Hoar. The Senator departed without fulfilling his mission. Hammond Diary, Dec. 5, 1844.

[56] Directory and Strangers' Guide for the City of Charleston and Its Vicinity, pp. 5-127.

[57] Will Book L, p. 257. Judge of Probate's Office, Charleston, S. C.

[58] Will Book K, p. 67. Judge of Probate's Office, Charleston, S. C. Regarding the sister whom he purchased, Nat Comings declared in his will that it was his wish to have set her free, but the law of the State would not allow Nat to emancipate. He, therefore, willed his sister to Mrs. Eliza Ball, "Knowing she will be kindly treated."

[59] The free Negro population of South Carolina increased from 1,801 in 1790 to 9,914 in 1860. Free Negroes were not nearly so numerous in South Carolina as in the border slave states.

[60] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

emancipated their slaves by will or by obtaining permission from a magistrate and five freeholders. The law allowed emancipation by will under certain limitations until 1841, when emancipation on any terms was forbidden.[61] Indicative of the attitude of the legislature on this matter is the report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on a petition by Reuben Starke, of the Abbeville District, to emancipate certain slaves. The Committee reported that "notwithstanding the conclusion to which a course of reasoning upon abstract rights might lead—the general welfare and absolute safety of the citizens of the State forbid emancipation of slaves."[62]

Undoubtedly the free Negroes were less dangerous to the social order than either the abolitionists or the slaves. Perhaps they deserved more consideration. As a matter of fact, virtually nothing was done to lift them above the sordid and hopeless category of pariahs. Any amelioration of their condition would, of course, have fired the imagination of the slaves for freedom. So long as slaves could look with indifference upon the degraded state of the free Negro, just so long would they be measurably content to remain in that station in which, they were told, "the Lord had seen fit to place them."

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[62] House Journal 1826, p. 88.

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